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THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

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VOL. II.

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THE

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIOD OF THE SCOTTISH MONARCHY TO THE ACCESSION OF THE

Stewart Family;

INTERSPERSED WITH

SYNOPTICAL REVIEWS OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND RELIGION, THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

BY THE

REV. JAMES CARRUTHERS,

DUMFRIES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

——————————— Οὔνεκα πολλῶν
λαῶν ἐσσι ἀναξ, καιτοι Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιξε
Σκηπτρον τ', ηδε Θεμιστας, ἱνα σφισι Βουλευησθα.

O'er numerous people Jove gave thee to reign
To make them happy, and with rule benign
To sway the sceptre and enforce the laws,
To hear impartial and adjudge the cause.——HOM. *Il. Lib.* ix.

——————— Si prima repetens ab origine pergam,
Et vacet annales nostrorum audire laborum;
Ante diem clauso componet vesper Olympo.——VIRG. *Æn.*

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ERRATA.

Vol. I. page 30, line 14, *read* Dunstaffnage.
— 57, — 18, *read* Spartian.
— 142, — 18, *read* Colomb.
— 314, note, *read* expurgatorius.
— 211, line 1, *read* comprehend.

Vol. II. page 48, line 2, *read* Crusades.
— 51, — 22, *read* Gregories.
— 208, — 8, *read* Albert.

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Death of Richard—Conference of the Kings of Scotland and England—John murders his nephew Arthur—Altercation between the Kings of England and Scotland—Young Alexander knighted—Flood at Perth—Troubles in the North—Death and character of William.—Synopsis.

A. C. 1153. Malcolm IV.

DAVID was succeeded by his grandson MALCOLM IV. who, though only in the thirteenth year of his age, was a prince of the most promising dispositions. His modesty and candour were highly engaging, and, both in person and manners, he greatly resembled his father and grandfather. His love of purity, through his whole life, was such as justly to procure him the epithet of *Maiden*.*

King Stephen of England died in the beginning of this reign; and in Scotland there arose a severe famine, which was grievously felt, though, fortunately, not attended with

1154. Somerlede's rebellion.

epidemical disease. Somerlede, thane of Argyle, a man whose fortune surpassed his birth, and whose ambition rose yet higher than his fortune, seeing the mortality which had taken place, and observing the weak and languid state of the survivors, but especially despising the king's tender age, convened a powerful party by the hopes of plunder, and made an attempt to obtain the supreme power. He

* Lord Hailes stiles *pure celibacy* an *artificial virtue*. Our Saviour, however, deems it a real one, and a particular gift of God, Matt. xix. 12.; and his apostle extols it as such—1 Cor. vii. 38.

was joined in this rebellion by his grandson, Donald M'Heth, whose father's injuries they pretended to avenge. But Gilchrist, prefect of Angus, having collected an army, completely defeated Somerlede, who having lost two thousand of his men, fled to Ireland for safety. Donald M'Heth was, sometime afterwards, discovered and taken at Whitehorn in Galloway. He was conveyed to the lodgings which his father had long occupied in Roxburgh castle. A. C. 1154. 1157.

This rebellion, sooner quashed than was expected, produced tranquillity at home, but excited envy abroad. Henry II. of England, a monarch of an ambitious mind, and eager to extend his dominions, was resolved to check the growing power and authority of Malcolm. He was, however, ashamed to make an open rupture, on account of the promise and oath he had pledged to King David at his inauguration of knighthood,—*that he never would disturb David or his heirs in the peaceable possession of their English territories.* Yet he strove, by secret guile and fraudulent policy, to get hold of those possessions, and to alienate from Malcolm the good will of that king's own brothers, of his subjects, and even of the king of France.

Whilst John bishop of Glasgow was performing his Episcopal functions in Cumber-

A. C. 1157. Henry's interested views.

land, Henry instigated Thurstin archbishop of York to send a bishop into that country, under the title of Bishop of Carlisle, which the Scottish prelate took so much amiss, that, despairing of redress, he retired into a monastery in France, where he remained until the commands of the pontiff and King Malcolm obliged him to resume his charge.

Malcolm had an interview with Henry at Chester, and did homage to him, as David had done to Henry I. "reserving all his dignities:" but it belonged properly to Malcolm's brothers to do homage for Northumberland and Huntingdon, which were their patrimonies. Nor was this all: Henry availing himself of the too facile disposition of young Malcolm, and having corrupted his counsellors, prevailed upon that inexperienced king to yield up all his English demesnes, without any other retribution than the honour of Huntingdon, which, at least, according to the disposition of King David, belonged to Malcolm's youngest brother Henry. The whole Scottish nation was indignant at this concession.

Scottish territories in England yielded to Henry.

Malcolm, ambitious of receiving the honour of knighthood from Henry, repaired to his court at Carlisle for that purpose; but some disagreement having arisen between the two kings, Malcolm was disappointed, and returned home in disgust.

A. C. 1159.

William, bishop of Moray, and Nicholas, the king's secretary, were sent on an embassy from Scotland to Pope Alexander III. to make the usual profession of obedience and communion. They were courteously received, and the honour of papal legate in Scotland was conferred on the bishop of Moray.

Malcolm fights under Henry in France, and receives the honour of knighthood.

Malcolm, still immoderately bent on the honour of knighthood, contrary to the inclination of his nobles, went over to Henry in France, and fought under his banners at the siege of Tolouse. Henry invested him, in the city of Tours, with the honour he so eagerly aspired to; but probably intended (as I have already remarked) to embroil him with the king of France and with his own subjects in Scotland: the latter, jealous of the seeming attachment of their monarch to the wily king of England, and alarmed for their national independence, immediately sent a solemn deputation to Malcolm in France, with this peremptory and laconic message, "*We will not "have Henry to rule over us*;" thereby giving to both kings a specimen of the humour of the Scottish nation.

1160. **Malcolm recalled home.**

Malcolm instantly returned home, and assembled a convention of the nobles and clergy at Perth; but such was the dissatisfaction among many of the nobility at Malcolm's too great facility to the demands of Henry, that

A. C. 1160. Ferquhard earl of Strathern, with five other earls, attempted to seize the person of their sovereign, and actually assaulted the tower of that city in which he had sought refuge, but were repulsed. Happily, by the mediation of the clergy, a reconciliation between the king and his people was soon effected.

Insurrection in Galloway.

A formidable insurrection, which broke out about this time in Galloway, gave Malcolm an opportunity of employing his factious nobles.

The large tract of country which then went by the name of Galloway, had long been a kind of feudal principality depending on the Scottish monarchs, and obliged to serve in their armies. In the English wars, the Galwegians were noted, (as we have seen in the battle of the Standard,) for a disorderly and undisciplined valour, and often added more to the terror than to the strength of the Scottish army. They often scornfully renounced all dependance upon the Scottish throne; and now, when they thought the councils of the Scottish nobles were distracted, they openly revolted, and in vast numbers and tumultuous array, under Fergus their lord, they ravaged the lands contiguous to their country.

Malcolm raised an army to repress the insurgents, and, besides employing his experienced and skilful general Gilchrist, headed his troops in person, that he might inspire his

army with greater courage, and conciliate the affections of his people by displaying his bravery. Twice he encountered the furious Galloydeans, and twice the ruggedness of the country, and the desperate valour of the impetuous foe, forced him to retire. The intrepid young prince made a third effort, and completely routed his enemies. Fergus, their lord and leader, took refuge at *Candida Casa*, in the sanctuary of St Ninian. The king had too much respect for this asylum to drag the rebel out of it, but he so pent him up there, that he was obliged to surrender at discretion.—Malcolm contented himself with confiscating a considerable portion of his lands, and taking his son Uchtred as hostage for his future good behaviour; but the haughty spirit of Fergus, unable to brook such fallen authority and circumscribed fortune, retired from a world where he could no longer shine, and became a canon in the abbey of Holyrood. Uchtred did homage to Malcolm, and the Galwegians were quiet for a while; but it was not until wearied with rebellion and intestine broils, that they so intermingled with the rest of the nation as to think no more of a separate independence. A. C. 1160.

Malcolm gives his sisters in marriage.

Malcolm having consulted his parliament concerning the marriage of his sisters, gave Margaret, the elder, to Conan count of Brittany; Ada, the younger, to Florence count

A. C. 1160. of Holland. The parliament seems to have granted a subsidy for marriage-portions to the young princesses.

Sedition in Moray. There arose a formidable tumult and sedition in Moray, under Gildo, or Gilldominick, their leader. The insurgents laid waste, by fire and sword, Ross-shire, Strathbogie, Mar, Garioch, Buchan, and Mearns. They even, contrary to the law of nations, put to death the deputies who were sent to treat with them. The king, justly incensed against such atrocious cruelty and bold treason, dispatched the gallant Gilchrist with an army against the banditti; but these hardened villains, knowing the skill and bravery of the general they had to encounter, and conscious that their crimes deserved no lenient punishment, thus impelled by desperation, fought with such fury, as to put to flight Gilchrist's army. Soon as the king learned this disaster, he raised new forces, marched at their head, and met the enemy at the mouth of the Spey. The contest was obstinate; at length the rebels gave way, and then the slaughter was dreadful, no quarter being given. Moreover, to punish and prevent in future the restless and turbulent spirit of the inhabitants of that district, Malcolm caused them to be slain or scattered over Scotland, and planted new colonies to cultivate and repeople the country.

A. C. 1161.

Attempt at the subjection of the Scottish church.

Roger, archbishop of York, having surreptitiously obtained from Alexander III. legantine powers over Scotland, summoned the Scottish clergy to attend him at Norham, under pain of suspension. They sent three deputies to wait on the archbishop, who, to evade submission to his authority, appealed to the pope himself.

Roger sent his agents to Rome, in great state, to manage his cause; but they had the mortification to see Engelramus, one of the Scotch deputies, consecrated bishop of Glasgow by the pontiff himself; so that the Scotch at that time escaped the claim of subjection.

Somerlede, hearing of these wasting battles, resolved once more to try his fortune. He, therefore, with what force he could collect in Ireland and elsewhere, landed at Renfrew. The inhabitants of the country, joined to some of Malcolm's troops, attacked his army, a part of which fled at the first charge; the rest were cut in pieces. He, together with his son, according to some, fell in the battle; others say, he was taken alive and hung on a very high gibbet.

Malcolm being now free from the embarrassments of war, turned himself to the functions of peace. He summoned a parliament to consult upon the interests of the nation. When other business was finished, Arnold, bi-

A. C. 1164. shop of St Andrew's, in an elaborate speech, addressed the king, exhorting him to marry, as a duty which he owed both to his family and to the present and future tranquillity of the state. The king listened to the bishop's arguments with great coolness, and, in reply, told him, that, from his early youth, he had dedicated his chastity* to God, and had every reason to believe that his vow had been acceptable to the Deity, who had hitherto enabled him to keep it, and had provided sufficiently for heirs to the kingdom,—wherefore he could perceive no private or public necessity for resiling from his solemn promise.

Malcolm, at the suggestion of Waltheof, abbot of Melrose, founded the abbey of Cupar in Angus, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and peopled it with monks of the Cistertian order, then renowned for eminent piety, and who, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, says Bœthius, had still preserved their good name.

* Bœthius, Lib. xiii cap 6.---This solemn declaration of the king, in presence of the nobility and clergy, Lord Hailes flatly contradicts; and, upon the authority of an obscure scrap from the chartulary of Kelso, makes Malcolm the father of a bastard son. The grant made to the abbey of Kelso, it seems, stands thus. "Precipio etiam ut predicta ecclesia de "Innerlethan, in qua prima nocte corpus filii mei post obitum suum quevit, "ut tantum refugium habeat," &c. It appears to me that, by some blundering copyist, the word *filii* had been put instead of *patris*, and that the passage refers to the body of Prince Henry, Malcolm's father, which may have rested a night in the church of Innerlethan, on the way to Kelso, where it was buried. Such flimzy authority cannot destroy a fact so respectably and universally established. His Lordship conjectures that Malcolm owed the title of *Maiden* to his wheyish and beardless countenance, παις παρθενικον βλεπων.

He also founded a priory for Cistertian nuns at Manual near Linlithgow, on the Avon, Stirlingshire, dedicated also to the Blessed Virgin. Both kings, William and Alexander II. added to its endowments. Part of the church and convent-house is yet entire, and belongs to the Earl of Linlithgow, to whose predecessor it was given after the change of religion. A. C. 1164.

This well-disposed king died at Jedburgh in his twenty-fourth year and the twelfth of his reign. His remains were conducted to Dunfermline in solemn procession, and interred in the royal monument with all the magnificence and piety of the sacred rites. Although in his early years he was drawn into political errors by corrupted counsellors, and duped by the selfish artifice of Henry, yet he afterwards extricated himself with much ability and address. He proved, like his grandfather, that piety and valour are perfectly compatible; and, had his life been longer spared, he bade fair for being both a popular and a gallant monarch. He was succeeded by his brother, Death of Malcolm IV.

WILLIAM, surnamed the LION. Fifteen days after the death of Malcolm, the nobility and prelates assembled at Scone; and on Christmas eve William was seated on the marble chair, and solemnly anointed king by Richard bishop of St Andrew's. He immediately re- 1165. William crowned.

A. C. 1166. paired to the court of Henry II. to demand the restitution of Northumberland; and at Henry's request, but against the will of the Scottish nobles, accompanied that monarch to France, and served a campaign under his banners, hoping thereby to obtain his right. He obtained only fair promises, with small hopes of their voluntary fulfilment, and returned home discontented.

1170. William, with his brother David, waited on Henry at Windsor on Easter eve, and celebrated that festival with him. David received from Henry the order of knighthood. On the 15th of June following Henry incautiously celebrated the coronation of his too-aspiring son, and in contempt of Thomas* archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the performance of that rite belonged, called in Roger archbishop of York, who, by executing that office, trespassed on his brother's jurisdiction. William and David did homage to young Henry *in the accustomed manner*.† Pope Alexander III. suspended Roger archbishop of York, as also Hugh bishop of Durham, and Gilbert bishop of London, who assisted at said coronation.

Earl David knighted.

Young Henry of England crowned.

1171. William returning to Scotland, set about regulating the internal policy of his kingdom,

* Fordun, Lib. viii, 14. † Ibidem.

suppressed robbery and free-booting, and an insurrection of the inhabitants of Moray. A. C. 1173.

An altercation having arisen between King Henry and his ambitious son, whom too great paternal fondness had raised to royal honours, young Henry, pretending that his father's reign had ceased at his own coronation, resolved to be a king in effect as well as in name, and took up arms against his father. He was encouraged in this criminal and unnatural rebellion by his father-in-law Lewis VII. king of France. Philip count of Flanders, and William king of Scotland, having in vain solicited the restitution of Northumberland, and hoping now to avenge the injury, joined this infamous coalition. Young Henry indeed readily promised, what was not his to give, Northumberland to William, and the earldom of Cambridge to David.

Henry rebels against his father.

William invaded England with a tumultuous army, vainly attempted the reduction of the castles of Werk and Carlisle, but devastated Cumberland and Northumberland; his Galwegians, especially, committing barbarous atrocities. 1174. William invades England.

Meanwhile Richard de Lucy, invaded and wasted the Scottish borders; then procured a truce with William, which, upon the English paying 300 merks, was prolonged until Easter 1174.

A. C. 1174. Robert earl of Leicester, with his countess, also equipped in armour, being joined by a great many partisans of young Henry, both English and Flandrians, came on to form a junction with William, who had again invaded Northumberland. Leicester's troops were intercepted by an English army, and himself taken prisoner. Those of his party who had escaped, invited David earl of Huntingdon to become their leader, and put him in possession of the castle of Leicester.

William, meantime, with a few guards, kept an eye of observation on the castle of Alnwick, while the rest of his disorderly army were pillaging the surrounding country. All on a sudden there appeared, through a fog, a band of horsemen bearing a Scottish banner*, and seemingly in Scottish armour. William supposed them to be a party of his own foragers, returning with their spoils. He soon discovered his mistake; but, with imprudent valour, scorned to fly from a far superior force. They were 400 chosen warriors, led by four Yorkshire barons. William, with only sixty† horsemen, boldly attacked them, was soon overpowered, taken prisoner, and sent first to Richmond, then, for greater security, to the castle of Falaise in Normandy.

William is taken prisoner. July 13.

* Fordun, Lib. viii. 22.

† Hollinshed, Vol. I. page 378. from William Parvus, a canon of the abbey of Bridlington in Yorkshire.

A. C. 1174.

The Scottish soldiers, especially the Highlanders and Galloway men, learning the capture of their king, in the first transports of fury and disappointment, fell upon their English fellow soldiers, and massacred many of them. David earl of Huntingdon also instantly abandoned Leicester, and, with his Scottish retainers, returned home. William's whole army, relinquishing their spoils with disdain, marched back, downcast and disappointed.

The members of an unlawful confederacy are seldom true to one another. Young Henry, the king of France, and the count of Flanders, had made common cause with William: they were to stand or fall together. They all made peace with Henry II., neglecting William, and leaving him in prison. The Scottish nation, however, eagerly wished for the liberation of their king. William was no less desirous of being released from his captivity.—Richard bishop of St Andrews, Richard bishop of Dunkeld, Geoffrey abbot of Dunfermline, Herbert prior of Coldingham, and many of the earls and barons of Scotland, passed over to Normandy to negotiate with the English monarch that important business.—The ambitious and wily Henry well knew how to turn their too great ardour to his own advantage. William agreed to barter the in-

A. C. 1174.

Barters the independence of Scotland for his own liberty.

dependency of his kingdom for his own personal freedom. In pledge for the fulfilment of this disgraceful bargain, he consented to give as hostages his brother David, with twenty of the earls and barons of Scotland, and to surrender to Henry * the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Stirling. The Scottish barons and clergy consented to these humiliating terms. It was also proposed that the church of Scotland should yield obedience and subjection to the church of England; but the foresaid prelates, abbot, and prior, cautiously gave their answer and promise in ambiguous terms, viz. that "the English church should have that right over the Scottish *which it ought to have*, and was accustomed to be rendered to it in the days of the preceding kings of England." By this ambiguous clause the independence of the Scottish church was preserved.

Scottish church free.

The hostages being delivered in Normandy, William, three days after, came over to England, where he remained a prisoner at large until the castles were yielded up to those whom Henry had appointed to receive them; then William, with his brother, returned to Scotland.

* Fordun says, that several chronicles assert, that the hostages were to be released when the English got possession of the castles,--Ford. viii. 24. Boethius says, that William agreed to pay also L.100,000 Sterling, partly in hand, and that his English claims were pledged for the rest.

A. C. 1175.

On the 10th of August, next year, William, with his prelates, earls, barons, and free tenants, did homage to Henry as their liege-lord in the cathedral church of York, according to the late treaty at Falaise.

Ecclesiastical council of Northampton.

Next summer, an ecclesiastical council was held at Northampton, where Richard archbishop of Canterbury, Roger archbishop of York, the Scottish bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, Dunkeld, Moray, and Caithness, with many others of the clergy of both kingdoms, were present. Henry II. and William king of Scotland likewise assisted.

Henry required the Scottish bishops, agreeable to their oath and fealty, now to yield that obedience to the church of England which they owed, and which was accustomed to be given thereto in the days of his predecessors. But the Scottish bishops now boldly avowed that their predecessors had never paid any obedience to the English church, nor ought they. Roger archbishop of York affirmed the contrary. Jocelin bishop of Glasgow replied, and cited, in proof of the Scottish church being dependant on the see of Rome only, a bull of Pope Alexander III.

Fordun's continuator has detailed the bold speech of a young Scottish clerk, called Gilbert, in this council. He tells the English prelates, that " their claim of superiority was

A. C. 1176. Remonstrance of Gilbert.

" unjust, their arguments sophistical, and their " hopes of success grounded on their riches and " the strength of the English arms. That they " ought to recollect, a great portion of their " country had, under God, been indebted to " the charitable labours of Scottish bishops " and clergy, for the light of the Christian " faith, and the knowledge of its sublime mo- " rality ;" and cited, for his voucher, Bede, their own venerable historian.* " It was," he said, " base ingratitude, and a sorry requital to their " benefactors, to aim at reducing them to sub- " jection and dependence. That, according to " the expression of Seneca, it was increasing " their malice in proportion to the benefits " they had received. ' Quo plus debent, magis " oderunt ;' or, as the Psalmist says of his ene- " mies, they repaid good with evil, and love " with hatred. ' Retribuebant mihi malum pro " bonis et odium pro dilectione mea.' That " even if all the Scottish clergy should agree " to such degrading subjection, he would ra- " ther submit his neck to the axe than give " his assent ; and now entered his protest, and " appealed to their common apostolical head " and superior."

Many of the English prelates and nobles applauded the spirit and open candour of this young ecclesiastic. Others called him a fu-

* 1 Bede, iii. 5. 525.

rious and outrageous Scot. Gilbert was afterwards bishop of Caithness, and proved worthy of his dignity. A contention between the two English archbishops about the preferable right of their respective sees to the superiority of the Scottish church, permitted the Scottish clergy to depart without farther concessions. A. C. 1176.

This same year, Hugo, cardinal legate, held a council in London, which was disturbed and dissolved on account of some disagreement between the two English metropolitans, who appealed to the pope as judge of their controversy. Council at London.

Previous to that council, Vivian, cardinal, priest, and apostolic legate for Scotland, Ireland, Norway, and the adjacent isles, landed in England, and was obliged, before he was allowed to proceed farther, to swear that he would not, in the course of his legation, do any thing prejudicial to Henry nor his kingdom. He proceeded to Scotland, and acted very arbitrarily, and made great exactions, which were the more easily tolerated that his favour might be gained in regard of the question then depending. From Whitehorn he passed over to Mann, and thence to Ireland. The following summer he returned to Scotland, and held a council of the Scottish clergy in Edinburgh castle on the first of August, in which some former decrees were renewed, and some new Council in Edinburgh Castle, 1177.

A. C. 1177.

regulations made relating to the discipline of the church. The restraint he had been laid under by Henry hindered his giving any decision in favour of the liberty of the Scottish church. Yet he, in some degree, condemned the claim of the archbishop of York, by suspending Christian, bishop of Candida Casa, who refused to come to the council of Edinburgh under pretence that his see belonged to the legation of the archbishop of York, who was papal legate in his own province.

This controversy was set at rest, while Scotland still remained in vassalage to the English king, by a bull of Clement III. in 1188, declaring "the church of Scotland to be the "daughter of Rome by special grace, and immediately subject to her, without any intervening superior: that none should be capable of "exercising the office of legate except a Scottish subject, or one deputed by the apostolic see out of the sacred college: that the "pope alone, or such legate, should have power "to pronounce sentence of interdict or excommunication against Scotland: that no appeal "concerning benefices should lye out of Scotland, unless to the court of Rome: finally, "that if any writings had been obtained from "former popes contrary to this liberty, they "should be of no prejudice to the Scottish "king or kingdom."

Bull of Clement III.

In the year 1177, Ernold bishop of St Andrew's dying, a serious and troublesome dissension arose about filling the see. John, surnamed Scotus, born in England, had studied at Oxford and Paris, and had acquired eminent secular and theological science. Happening to visit Scotland, he was kindly welcomed by the bishop of St Andrew's, who detained him in his court, and afterwards promoted him to be archdeacon in his church. After the death of the bishop, John was unanimously elected his successor by the chapter, in the presence of John cardinal *de cœlio monte*, the papal legate *a latere* in 1178. A. C. 1177.

Contention about filling the see of St Andrews.

King William had destined that bishopric for his chaplain Hugh; and hearing of the election made by the chapter without his knowledge or assent, passionately swore, "By "the arm of St James, while I live, John Scot "shall never be bishop of St Andrews." He instantly seized the revenues of that see, caused his bishops to consecrate Hugh, and ordered John, with all his friends and connections, to be banished the country.

John appealed to Rome, and went thither in person to plead his own cause. He was favourably received by the pontiff Alexander III. who sent him back to Scotland with Alexis his legate, that parties might be heard

A. C. 1178. and judgment given where circumstances were perfectly known.

The legate convoked an assembly of the clergy in the monastery of Holyrood, at Edinburgh; and finding John Scot's election quite canonical, caused him to be consecrated there on Trinity Sunday, by Matthew bishop of Aberdeen. But John perceiving himself a bishop without a see, and the king inexorable, was obliged to return to Rome, where he remained some years in exile.

Alexis, seeing his sentence disregarded, excommunicated some of the clergy who adhered to the king's measures, and threatened to lay the diocess of St Andrew's under an interdict; but was withheld by John, who would not consent to that procedure.

The pope wrote to William, using both entreaties and threats, but William seemed disregardful of either. Alexander, irritated by such obstinacy, now assumed an authoritative tone, and informed William, that unless he recalled John, without loss of time, and received him with due honour, he would lay his whole kingdom under an interdict. The pontiff would probably have put his threat in execution,—but John, throwing himself at the feet of Alexander, besought him with tears, that he would not, in a case which regarded him personally, impose upon the church of Scot-

land so severe a censure: that he had much rather be allowed to resign the honour and the burden of his charge into the hands of his holiness, than that the praises of God, and the holy oblation for the living and the dead, should be suspended for one day. The pontiff, softened by the prayer, and admiring the piety and disinterestedness of the man, suspended his anathema, and heightened his favour for the petitioner. A. C. 1178.

The bishop of Dunkeld dying about this time, William, alarmed at the prospect of an interdict, thought it best to recal John Scot, and try to compromise matters by offering him the vacant see. He, accordingly, invited John to return to Scotland, assuring him that he had nothing to fear. John returned, and was graciously received. Yet after this amicable interview, William observed, that as he had sworn, though rashly and indiscreetly, against John's obtaining the see of St Andrews, it would look ill, especially in a king, to act in direct opposition to his oath, but, if John pleased, he would have him appointed bishop of Dunkeld; and, as the emolument arising from that see was much inferior to that of St Andrew's, he would add to the former the income of the archdeanry of St Andrew's during John's life, as a compensation for the inequality of revenue, and to defray the expenses and trouble

Dispute ended.

A. C. 1182.

he had sustained. The death of Alexander, and the election of Lucius III., a more condescending pontiff, facilitated an agreement between the parties. Hugh obtained canonical possession of the see of St Andrews, and John was installed in that of Dunkeld.

As the diocess of Dunkeld then comprehended Argyleshire, where the Gaelic language alone was understood by the common people, John being utterly ignorant of that tongue, scrupled to retain a charge of which he could not fulfil the duties, and therefore applied to the pope, requesting him to create Argyle into a separate diocess; at the same time recommending Herald, his chaplain, (who understood perfectly, and spoke fluently, the Gaelic,) as a person well qualified for being bishop of the new see. The pope complied with both requests. Argyle became a new diocess, and the seat thereof was placed in the isle of Lismore, and its bishops called *Episcopi Lismorenses*. This new erection was probably under the pontificate of Innocent III., about the year 1200.

Bishoprick of Lismore erected.

Keith (in his Catalogue of Scottish Bishops) very justly remarks, that the extent of the Dunkeld bishoprick was a more likely motive for the disjunction, than the language: for if the latter had been the sole inducement, John ought also to have declined Dunkeld itself, where

the Gaelic was then the prevailing speech, and where it is still understood. A. C. 1182.

John, in his old age, visited the monastery of Newbottle, and begged to be allowed then to accomplish, what he had long proposed, but had been hindered to execute by the worldly views of his dependents, and that was, to put on the Cistertian habit. His petition was granted; he died a monk of that order, and was buried in the choir of that church. Hugh, after having held the see of St Andrew's for ten years and as many months, went to Rome to solicit a reconciliation with the pope for his intrusion into the see of St Andrews; which peace having obtained, he died when he had advanced only six miles on his return home.

John Scot becomes a Cistertian monk.

During the time of William's captivity, the kingdom was greatly agitated by disorder, mutual discord, and slaughter; but Galloway especially was the focus of rebellion, and a scene of intestine broils. Gilbert, son of Fergus, revolting from his allegiance to the king of Scotland, with a numerous banditti ravaged the contiguous country. Uchtred, the other son of Fergus, who continued faithful to William, was, at the instigation of his brother Gilbert, shockingly mutilated, and cruelly murdered. Gilbert next attempting to seize his brother's possessions, was bravely resisted by Roland, the son of Uchtred. William, also,

A. C. 1185. Broils in Galloway.

now restored to liberty, led an army into Galloway to subdue and punish the rebellion and fratricide of Gilbert; but, by the intercession of the nobles and clergy, and partly, perhaps, from the want of power to inflict condign punishment on so formidable a foe, he accepted a pecuniary indemnification for past pillage, and hostages as security for future good behaviour.

1186. William is said to have introduced Gilbert at York to Henry, their common liege-lord, and that Henry received Gilbert into favour upon his paying the sum of one thousand marks, and giving his son Duncan as an hostage.

Gilbert, who delighted in civil war, and whom no promise or paction could bind, was at length carried off by death in the year 1185. Rolland, seizing the opportunity, and favoured by William, roused his friends to arms, and aimed at the conquest of all Galloway. He encountered and slew Gilpatrick, Henry Kennedy, and one Samuel, the chief partisans and abettors of Gilbert. Gilcolm, also, the leader of a formidable band of robbers, who, after having infested the neighbouring countries, had settled in Galloway, fell beneath his sword. In this last conflict, Rolland lost his brother amongst others of his brave companions in arms.

This success of Rolland was highly agreeable to William; but Henry was mightily displeased at the molestation and discomfiture of his liege-subjects whom he had taken under his protection the preceding year. He, therefore, assembled a powerful army at Carlisle, with a view to chastise Rolland, and protect Duncan the son of Gilbert. Rolland put himself in a posture of defence, and seemed resolute on a manly resistance. By the interposal of William and other peace-makers, terms of pacification were amicably agreed on. Rolland was allowed to retain what fell to him by hereditary right, as belonging to, and possessed by, his father Uchtred, and which still retains the name of Galloway. To Duncan that district of ancient Galloway called Carrick was confirmed, with which he declared himself contented, and renounced all farther claims. A. C. 1186.

Ada, widow of Prince Henry, and mother of King William, died 1178, after having founded and endowed the nunnery of Cistertians at Haddington. It was dedicated to the blessed Virgin. Its endowments were the lands of Clerkington; the Newlands, now called Huntingdon; the churches of Athelstoneford, and Crail in Fife, with their tithes.

That same year William founded the sumptuous abbey of Aberbrothock or Aberbrothe,

A. C. 1186. upon the *burn* called Brothock or Brothe, in the shire of Forfar, near the sea-shore. It was dedicated in honour of St Thomas of Canterbury, with whom that king had been personally acquainted. The monks hereof were Benedictines, or Tyronenses, brought from the abbey of Kelso. The abbey of Aberbrothock was one of the richest in Scotland. Its abbots were allowed to wear pontifical ornaments and to confer minor orders.

On the death of Simon de St Liz, the earldom of Huntingdon reverted to the English crown. Henry restored it to William, who immediately transferred it to his brother David.

David made Earl of Huntingdon.

William, according to Boethius, had been married before he ascended the throne, though his wife's name has been omitted by historians. She died about the year 1178, leaving to William a daughter called Adama, who was afterwards married to Patrick earl of Loudon, (*Comiti Laodinensi,*) and also Earl of March.

Henry, in 1186, brought over from France a kinswoman of his own, Ermengarde, daughter of Richard count of Beaumont. Her grandmother was a bastard daughter of Henry I. Henry II. offered her in marriage to the Scottish king, who, with the advice and consent of his friends, accepted the offer. The marriage took place at Woodstock. Henry resigned the

William marries Ermengarde.

use of his palace to the royal pair. He restored also the castle of Edinburgh as a part of the young queen's dowry. A. C. 1187.

In the year 1179, William, with his brother David, marched a considerable army into Ross, in order to suppress a daring rebellion raised by Macwilliam, or Donald Bane, son of William, and grandson of Duncan the bastard. This rebel pretended a title to the crown of Scotland, and committed great outrages. The rebellion being quashed, William built two strong castles, Dunscaith and Edirdovar, to maintain tranquillity in that quarter.

*An unfortunate incident happened about this period. The renowned Gilchrist, instigated by a strong suspicion, perhaps, too, great evidence of his lady's infidelity, first drove her from his castle, and afterwards caused her to be put to death, at a village about a mile from Dundee. This precipitate vengeance so incensed the king, (whose sister the lady was,) that he confiscated the property, and attainted the honours of Gilchrist; and, as the latter had fled from justice, the king declared him an outlaw, and destroyed every vestige of his castle.

Disgrace of Gilchrist.

Gilchrist, with his two sons, absconded for a while into England; but great amity now

* Boethius, Lib. xiii. fol. 283. Buch. Lib. vii. p. 126.

A. C 1187. subsisting between the two kings, it was agreed, that the enemies or fugitives of the one should not be protected by the other. Gilchrist and his sons were therefore forced to return privately to Scotland, where they led a miserable and disquieted life.

Donald Bane again rebels, and is defeated.

Donald Bane renewed his claims, and again broke out into open rebellion. He possessed himself of Ross, wasted Moray, and was carrying on destruction by fire and sword. William again led an army against this audacious and incorrigible rebel. While the king, with the main body of his army, lay at Inverness, a detached foraging party, or a band of marauders, commanded by the gallant Rolland of Galloway, fell in with Donald Bane and his army, upon the Mamgarvy moor, on the borders of Moray,—encountered, and entirely routed them. Donald, with five hundred of his followers were slain. M'William's head was brought to the king on the 31st July 1187. Peace and order were restored.

William, on his return from this expedition, visited Aberbrothock, to see how the abbey was going on,--made presents to the overseers, and even to the artificers, encouraging them to ply the work, and to spare no expense that could add to the magnificence, grandeur, or decoration of the building.

On his journey from Aberbrothe to Perth,

the king saw, not far from the road, three men digging turf, whose appearance, though under a ragged dress, and soiled with mud, indicated something above rustic birth and education. The two youngest were of elegant and comely form. They seemed to shun the royal retinue; but the king ordered them to be brought before him. The old man, bare-headed and grey, threw himself (as did the two youths) at the monarch's feet: "If there be mercy "with thee, as I hope there is, O clement king!" said the hoary man,—"if there be pardon for "guilt already expiated by sufferings beyond "many deaths, I adjure thy Majesty, by the "mercy of our common Saviour, to receive "into thy favour wretched me and these my "two innocent sons, who have long shared the "disgrace, and, by their filial piety, consoled "the miseries, of an unhappy father." Being desired to explain the cause of his misery, he for some time remained silent and confounded: at length, with downcast countenance and streaming tears he proceeded: "Sire, I am the "unfortunate Gilchrist, who, exasperated by "maddening jealousy, and impelled by some "malevolent demon, dared wreak my ven-"geance on the royal blood. Hence, justly de-"prived of my fortune, I lived a fugitive and "exile with my sons, amidst poverty and "scorn from those who had felt my arm in

A. C. 1187.

A. C. 1188. "better days,—until, driven from that oppro-
"brious asylum, I returned to my country,
"which durst not avow me for its own, and
"could only afford my sons and me such co-
"vers as protected its wild beasts, viz. woods,
"rocks, and caves. To keep ourselves from
"beggary and starvation, we gladly embraced
"the sordid employment at which your Ma-
"jesty found us. But O, if time hath abated
"thy just indignation,—if thou wouldst add
"to thy glory, a glory and merit yet greater,
"be gracious to thy suppliants. I ask not my
"paternal inheritance: I claim no former dig-
"nity. To breathe our country's air in peace
"is all we crave, and the boon of being allow-
"ed to gain, in tranquillity, a scanty subsist-
"ence by the labour of our hands and the
"sweat of our brows." The king and all his suite were affected even to tears by this deeply interesting scene. The relenting monarch embraced his hoary general, restored his honours and lands, except what had already been given to the monastery of Aberbrothock. Gilchrist added yet a farther grant to the abbey. His eldest son died before himself. The younger was never married, and bequeathed a part of his remaining patrimony to the same establishment. All three were buried in that magnificent church, before the altar of St Ca-

General Gilchrist restored to favour.

tharine, as the inscription on their monument testified. A. C. 1188.

Henry still retained the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick. William had offered four thousand merks for their redemption. Henry agreed to restore them if William would pay the tenths of his dominions for the holy war. The Scottish barons and clergy refused to comply, although both kings should have sworn to levy that tax.

Henry II. died, and his son Richard, who succeeded him, being a prince of high spirit, adopted the heroism of the times, which was the conquest of the Holy Land; and, wishing to conciliate the good will of the neighbouring states, that his kingdom might not be disturbed in his absence, invited William to his 1189. court at Canterbury,—gave up the castles of Roxburgh and Berwick,—absolved William and his kingdom from the vassalage that his father had imposed, and put the Scottish possessions in England on the same footing that they were in the days of Malcolm Ceanmore; gave him full acquittance of all obligations which his *good father* Henry had, by new writs, extorted from William on account of his captivity; stipulating at same time, that William shall perform whatever his brother Malcolm performed or was bound to perform; and that, on the other part, he (Richard) shall

A. C. 1189. Richard I. King of England, restores Scotland's freedom.

fulfil whatever his predecessors legally performed, or were bound to perform to Malcolm. Richard, moreover, renounced all liege homage exacted from the Scottish clergy and barons at the time of their king's captivity; delivered up all testimonies of said homage, and decreed, if any other documents thereof should afterwards appear, they should be held as null and void. He confirmed to William and his heirs the earldom of Huntingdon, and all his other possessions or emoluments on their wonted conditions. All these, and such like articles of agreement, were formally extended in a legal writ,* signed by Richard, by the principal clergy, by his brother John, and many of the first nobility at Canterbury, (5th December 1189.) William agreed to pay ten thousand marks for this formal restitution of Scottish independence.

Earl David marries Mathildis, and sets out for the Holy Land.

David earl of Huntingdon married Mathildis, daughter of Ranulph earl of Chester, and immediately, with five hundred Scottish retainers, joined Richard in his expedition to the Holy Land. They touched at, or were driven upon, the isle of Cyprus, which they conquered. They then sailed for Ptolemais or Acre, which was already besieged by the French. On their voyage they destroyed a Saracen fleet

* That deed remains in Fordun, Book viii. c. 49,—and Inter Fœdera Angliæ, Tome i. page 64, by Rymer.

which was coming to the relief of that place. A. C. 1190.
They then joined the French army, and succeeded in the capture of that strong fortress, by means of one Oliver,* who had formerly been a servant in the Scottish court, and had been banished for theft. He had fled to the Saracens, learned their language and manners so well that he passed for one of their number, and actually served as a Saracen soldier at Acre. Happening to be upon the bulwark, he observed among the besiegers one of Earl David's men, named John Durward, with whom he had been well acquainted, and addressed him in his native language. A conversation and a kind of treaty ensued, in which Durward engaged, in the name of his master, to restore Oliver to his country, and restore to him a field that had belonged to him. Oliver, on his part, undertook to open a certain gate to the besiegers, at a specified hour of the night. Earl David was appointed to the command of that hazardous enterprise, which perfectly succeeded, and procured the capture of that strong city. Acre taken.
But the French and English disagreeing, Richard and David wished to return to their own homes, but had both hard struggles to sustain ere they reached them.

Richard, shipwrecked in the gulph of Venice, fell into the hands of Leopold duke of

* Boece, Book xiii. fol. 286.

A. C. 1192. Richard kept prisoner by the Emperor Henry.

Austria, who delivered him up to his enemy, the Emperor Henry, by whom he was a whole year detained in captivity.

David, driven by a storm upon the coast of Egypt, narrowly escaped with life, and was captured by the natives, bought by certain Venetian merchants, carried to Constantinople, and thence to Venice, where he was known and ransomed by an English merchant, and was landed at Flanders.

David returns home.

At Sluys he hired a vessel to carry him to Scotland; but being again overtaken by a severe winter storm, the vessel was driven and tossed betwixt Norway and Shetland. Being in the utmost jeopardy, David made a vow of building a church if he landed safe. His prayer was heard: the vessel, in a shattered state, was driven into the frith of Tay, and came to shore near Dundee. Next morning David, overjoyed, leapt upon his native land, gratefully returned thanks for his preservation, and acquitted his vow, by building a church near Dundee, in a place called *Wheatfield*, which was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, whose intercession he had implored in the hour of danger.

William, hearing of his brother's arrival, which seemed a kind of resuscitation from death, hastened to welcome him, with all the

fondness of fraternal affection, caused public thanksgiving and rejoicings to be made. The king, moreover, bestowed on his brother lands for building and endowing the abbey of Lundores, situate in the forest of Ernside, on the river Tay, below Newburgh, in the shire of Fife, which was dedicated to the blessed Virgin and St Andrew, and peopled with Benedictines from the abbey of Kelso. A. C. 1192.

Richard is redeemed.

Richard Cœur de Lion was at length redeemed, by a sum so vast that the English were obliged to melt down much of the church plate to assist its payment. Returned to his kingdom, he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy, by all ranks and degrees. The king of Scotland also, with his brother Earl David, hastened to London to welcome and congratulate Richard on his hapy return; andWilliam, knowing the pressure of the English nation on account of the enormous ransom of the king, made Richard a present of two thousand marks. Lord Hailes, not without probability, conjectures that this might be part of the sum formerly stipulated for Scotland's independence.

Fordun says, that William, labouring under a tedious malady at Clackmannan, summoned his nobles, and caused them to swear fealty to his daughter Margaret, (whom he had had by a daughter of Adam de Hituson,) as the heir-

A. C. 1195. ess of his kingdom, in the event of his having no son by his queen Ermengarde. Fordun makes no mention of a marriage between the king and Hituson's daughter. Earl Patrick and others objected against this settlement, because the crown ought not to descend to a female while the king had a surviving brother, but says nothing of Margaret's illegitimacy. I incline to Lord Hailes' opinion, that Margaret was the lawful daughter of William by Ermengarde. It appears, however, that William meant to give this daughter in marriage to Otho, son of Henry duke of Savoy, sister's son to the king of England; but this proposed match never took place.—William altered or renewed the current coin, (*innovavit.**)

Rolland made High Constable.

William de Moreville, constable of Scotland, dying, the celebrated Rolland, Lord of Galloway, (who had married the sister and heir of Moreville,) succeeded to that high office upon paying to the king seven hundred merks.

Troubles in Orkney and Caithness.

Rebellious commotions in the north were headed by Harold earl of Orkney and Caithness. William led an army against them. At length Harold was captured, and committed to the castle of Roxburgh. His son Torphin surrendered himself as an hostage for his father's fidelity. Harold was released, and again

* Fordun, viii. 56.

rebelled. His unhappy son had his eyes put out,—was emasculated, and suffered to languish and die in prison. Such was the barbarity of the times. A. C. 1197.

In this year the castle of Ayr was built, famous afterwards in the reign of Robert Bruce.

Alexander II. born.

On the 24th August, St Bartholomew's day, Ermengarde, queen of Scotland, was safely delivered of a son, and heir of the kingdom, at Haddington. The gladdening event spread universal joy throughout the realm; all business was suspended, and the nation dissolved in mirth and festivity. The young prince was named Alexander.

Death of Richard Cœur de Lion.

The following year died Richard the lion-hearted king of England, duke of Normandy, count of Poictou, &c. the bravest of all the crusaders, and the most dreaded by the Saracens. A hidden treasure being discovered in the territories of the count de Limoges, Richard claimed it as lord paramount. The count endeavoured to secure it in the castle of Chalus, near Limoges. Richard laid siege to the castle, which, having incautiously approached, in order to discover the fittest place for an assault, he received a wound in his shoulder by an arrow from a cross-bow, of which he died a few days after, on the 26th April 1199, and was succeeded by his brother John, a prince of a very different character.

John, twice crowned king of England, sum-

A. C. 1200. moned William king of Scotland to meet him at Lincoln on the 21st December. William met him at the time and place appointed. The day following, the two kings held a conference on a hill without the city, where, in presence of a great assembly of English, Scotch, and Norman barons, William paid homage to John for the possessions he claimed a right to hold from the English king, and, upon the cross of Hubert archbishop of Canterbury, swore fealty to him, *saving his own right.* William then demanded back Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, as his rightful inheritance. John promised to return an answer at the ensuing Whitsunday. At Whitsunday the answer was adjourned till Michaelmas. The Scottish barons swore fealty to the young Prince Alexander at Musselburgh 12th

Conference of William king of Scotland and John king of England.

1201. October. David earl of Huntingdon gave his oath of allegiance to his nephew four years afterwards.

Margaret, sister of William, died. Her daughter Constantia died the same year. She was the mother of Prince Arthur, nephew to John, and who had a preferable claim to the dominions that John now possessed. Philip king of France took Prince Arthur under his protection, knighted him, and, giving him his daughter in marriage, undertook to oblige John to redress the wrongs he had done to his nephew. Arthur, by an unfortunate inci-

dent, became his uncle's prisoner. The tyrant, by a cruel and unnatural policy, eight months after, put his nephew to death, and, according to some historians, with his own hands.

A. C. 1209. King John murders his nephew Arthur.

Allan, Lord Galloway, and son of the renowned Lord Rolland, married Margaret, eldest daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, afterwards grandmother to John Baliol.

Allan Lord Galloway marries Margaret daughter of David.

John, in order to reduce Berwick, and thereby to lay open to himself one of the principal passages into Scotland, had begun to build and fortify a castle at Tweedmouth. But William had twice interrupted the work, and razed it from the foundations. These proceedings gave occasion to a fruitless conference between the two kings at Norham. Twice these monarchs assembled mighty armies on their frontiers, to give each other battle, and twice, by the interposal and mediation of the nobles of each kingdom, hostilities were avoided. The kings again met at Norham, and there concluded a treaty of peace, by which John engaged to desist from attempting to erect any fortress at Tweedmouth, and William, as a compensation for the loss and dishonour sustained by the English king in the demolition of the work, agreed to pay L.4000. William also engaged to deliver to John his two daughters, Margaret and Isabella, to be married to John's two sons, Henry and Richard, when the parties should come to mature years. It was moreover sti-

Altercation between the kings of England and Scotland.

A. C. 1209.

A treaty concluded at Norham.

pulated, that if either of those princes or princesses should die before the marriage took place, the surviving princess should be married to the heir of the English throne. It was farther agreed, that the merchants of Scotland should have free access to England, to carry on their trade, and the king of Scotland should possess safe and entire all his ancient honours. In consideration of these terms, and especially of these marriages, it was stipulated that William should pay to John, within two years, 15,000 merks at four different terms. This treaty was confirmed by oaths and hostages.

The following year it was agreed by the intervention of envoys, that William should resign into the hand of John all the possessions he held of him, and that the king of England should restore these to Alexander the son and heir of the Scottish king. This was accordingly done at Alnwick. Alexander rendered the usual homage. It was also agreed, that in time coming, (as indeed it was usual in time long past,) instead of the king of Scotland himself, the heir of that realm should render homage to the king of England for the lands and honours held of him.

The two kings had another meeting at Norham, to draw still closer the bonds of peace. Ermengarde was also present, and by her gentle and insinuating address contributed much

to promote these friendly dispositions. Prince Alexander was sent to London, and received from the king of England the honour of knighthood, which was at the same time conferred upon twenty English youths of high rank.

A. C. 1211. Young Alexander knighted.

The foregoing year, while the royal family resided at Perth, an immense fall of rain had swelled the rivers Tay and Almond to a vast height. After their confluence, the torrent came down with great rapidity, and meeting with a high spring tide, which impeded its course, it surrounded and almost overwhelmed Perth, carried off the bridge and the old chapel entirely. Considerable vessels might have sailed in the streets. The king, with his son and brother, escaped with difficulty in a small skiff. Many lives are said to have been lost. The town was so deformed that it was deemed better to build a new one in a safer place than repair the ruins. The New Town was sometime called St Johnston, but has returned to the old appellation.

Flood at Perth.

William assembled a Parliament at Stirling a little after Michaelmas, for the purpose of levying the sum promised to the king of England. The barons offered to contribute 10,000 merks; the burgesses promised 6,000. The assembly did not venture to impose a tax on the clergy.

Another tumult broke out in the North. Guthred, son of the old rebel M'William, with

A. C. 1212.

Troubles in the North.

a party of freebooters, made great depredations in Ross and its vicinity: his followers were from Ireland, the Hebrides, and Lochaber. William raised a great army, which he sent under the command of his nobles in pursuit of Guthred M'William. The king, who had long lain ill at Kintore, followed as his health would permit. When he had joined his army in Ross, he built two forts,—took and killed many of Guthred's partisans: yet Guthred, avoiding a general engagement, maintained a desultory and predatory warfare. The king selected 4000 of his army, with the Earls of Athol and Buchan, Malcolm Morigond, and Thomas de Lundy, for their leaders; these he sent in close pursuit of Guthred. They overtook him in one of the Western isles, whither he had transferred his ill-gotten wealth. A desperate battle ensued. Guthred with his party was routed, but he himself, with what surviving followers were left him, fled to his well known fastnesses. William returned, leaving the Earl of Fife with a detachment to protect Moray. Guthred immediately left his lurking places, and besieged one of the forts which the king had lately erected, forced the garrison to capitulate, and burnt the castle. He was at length betrayed by his followers, and delivered to William Comyng, justiciary of Scotland; and as the king refused to see him

A. C. 1214.

Death and character of William.

he was put to death. This was the last memorable occurrence in William's reign. He had long been in a bad state of health. Having received all the rites of the church, he died at Stirling on the 4th December 1214, in the 49th year of his reign; in the 75th of his age, according to Fordun; in the 72d according to the Chronicle of Melrose.

That William was dissolute in early life, is proved by five or six bastard children whom he left. His seeming courage at Alnwick was foolhardiness. His impatience of captivity, and the purchase of his freedom by disgracing his country, were great abatements of wisdom and patriotism; yet he luckily seized the opportunity of redeeming the subjection he had brought upon his kingdom, and after his marriage with Ermengarde he was a faithful and a good husband. Although Henry had treated him severely, yet the joining his son in his unnatural rebellion was inexcusable. William was exact in administering justice and in suppressing freebooting. He was fortunate in quashing rebellion, and dextrous in tracing and apprehending its leaders. He promoted civilization, arts, and jurisprudence. The best proof of his talents for government is, that he was beloved by his people. His body was interred in his abbey of Aberbrothick, in the choir, before the high altar.

A. C. 1214. Death and character of William.

SYNOPTICAL REVIEW

OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND RELIGION, IN THE TWELFTH AGE.

THE East was in great confusion. The sultans had employment enough in restraining the crusaders, who poured into Syria, Palestine, and Africa. The emirs strove to repel the Turks, who came in hordes into the Mussulman empire. Tartars from Thibet spread themselves to the banks of the Tigris. As the denser air rushes, with impetuosity, whither that element is more rarified and less elastic, so the swarms of the hardy sons of the North poured into the eastern Roman empire, weakened by luxury, by despotism, by corruption, by internal discord, by the oppression of governors, by contempt and violation of the laws. Those fruitful territories became the rendezvous of all nations.

The remaining empire of Constantinople was assailed, on all quarters, by external enemies, and torn within by factions, rebellions, and schisms. Its emperors, nursed in luxury,

and yielded up to effeminacy, in order to support their extravagance, oppressed their subjects with taxes, and were deposed or massacred by the populace.

The West was still, as in the foregoing century, divided into an infinite number of sovereignties, and feudal or independent states. The chiefs warred against each other. Their warlike habits, and their want of rational employment, engaged them in pillage and freebooting. They considered these disorderly habits as the means of preventing the aggrandizement of the more powerful princes. They also frequently invaded the property of the clergy,—seized the investitures, and sold the bishoprics, abbeys, and benefices.

The pilgrims who had travelled to the Holy Land made lamentable and moving complaints of the cruel usage that the Christian slaves endured under the yoke of the Saracens. That warlike people, too, had carried their conquests so far, that it was much to be feared they might over-run all Christendom.

To remedy these and other prevailing disorders; to stop the progress of the Mussulmans; to rescue the Christian captives; and to recover the Holy Land from the enemies of Christianity, Pope Gregory VII. in the preceding age, had formed the plan of uniting Christian princes in one general warfare; but, being

prevented by death, left the execution of his project to his successors. Hence the crusaders, which form a considerable part of the history of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and which have been severely censured by many writers, and defended or excused by others.

The former have endeavoured to make religion responsible for the evils, real or supposed, of which the crusaders were the cause. Those wars, they say, inspired by a misguided zeal, cost Europe two millions of men, and transmitted to Asia immense sums of money. They enriched the clergy and monks, ruined the nobles, and augmented the temporal power of the popes.

The writers of the opposite party, without partiality for religion, are more favourable to those armaments on account of their consequences. They willingly admit the facts stated by their opponents. They acknowledge the vast expense of treasure which Europe incurred; but that loss, they say, has been amply indemnified by the immense streams of riches which have rolled back, from the commerce and industry which Europeans, during these expeditions, learned in Asia, and the taste which they contracted for Asiatic luxury. As to the blood spilt, no less blood, they maintain, would have been shed by mutual warfare had those armies stayed at home.

The clergy and monks were enriched by redeeming the lands which had been taken from them by force, and which lay neglected and uncultivated. The nobles were impoverished, but they lost the habits of pillaging, freebooting, and lawless independence, so hurtful to others. They became less turbulent and rebellious against kings and princes: laws were respected, and better policy established. The lords, for a sum of money, which they needed to cross the seas, enfranchised their *serfs*, and Europe thereby owes to the crusades the commencement of its liberty. The power of the popes was increased, but the far more formidable power of the Mahomedans was reduced. It was of the utmost importance to check the extension of their conquests, and to hinder them from establishing themselves in Italy and France, as they had already done in Spain, in Sardinia, Corsica, and almost to the gates of Rome. Their mischievous progress threatened to brutalize all Europe. The crusades wasted, in Asia, the exuberance of fanaticism, ambition, and jealousy, which circulated in the veins of Europeans. Europe turned its attention to agriculture, trade, and manufactures. The population peaceably increased. The cities were embellished; public fountains were constructed after the models of those in the East. Our masons brought home

the knowledge of architecture, and raised those monuments, whose boldness and elegance we admire. Maritime skill was improved; by degrees the compass was found out. The navigation to India, and the discovery of America and all the Western world, followed. During the four ages that have elapsed since the crusades, the arts, sciences, commerce, industry, wealth, and civilization, have made greater progress than during the eight centuries which preceded them. The impartial reader will weigh both sides, and judge to which the balance seems to incline.

Adrian, an Englishman, was unanimously elected pope, 1154. All the islands in which the Christian faith had been received were supposed to belong to the see of St Peter. Adrian could not do less than make a present of the Emerald isle to his countryman, King Henry II. of England. The grant, however, was made *salvo jure ecclesiarum*, and for the civilization of the people, and the extirpation of vice. How well these stipulations were observed, the Irish will inform us in the sequel of this history.

Literature.—Notwithstanding the wars that laid desolate the East, the arts and sciences were not altogether neglected. The caliphs, sultans, and emirs were generally men of some learning. Schools and academies were esta-

blished in several towns of the Mussulman empire, and were respected. The Arabians had their philosophers, geometricians, astronomers, and chemists. Averroes gained great reputation. They had also their theologians, who endeavoured to justify Mahomedism upon philosophical principles.

In the frequent negociations between the emperors of Constantinople and the sultans, these last always employed men of distinguished knowledge and abilities, which obliged the emperor to make choice of men of science and eloquence to treat with their opponents; and this served somewhat to keep alive the love of learning.

The disputes, also, which the Greek theologians had to maintain against the Western church striving to justify their schism, served to exercise them in the art of writing and speaking. Yet, alas! what a lamentable decay of Greek learning and eloquence, since the days of the Basils and Gregorii Nazyanzen and Nyssene!

The ardour for learning, which began to be enkindled in the West, in the foregoing century, still continued in some degree. The favour which sovereigns shewed to science,—the choice of men of distinguished learning to fill the highest dignities of the church,—excited emulation in literature. The progress of se-

veral religious orders multiplied schools and academies throughout the West.

The reputation of the Parisian school greatly increased in the beginning of the twelfth age, under the direction of William de Champeaux. Peter Abailard also came to Paris, and taught, with *eclat*, philology and Aristotle's philosophy; but the course of studies was very imperfect. Good taste was not yet recovered. Grammar, according to the ideas of the ancient Greeks and Romans, consisted, in the first place, in the careful study of their mother tongue, that they might speak and write it correctly; but, in the twelfth age, grammar was never applied to the vernacular languages, which were despised, but to such barbarous Latin as was then understood: and in that degenerate language many words truly Latin were turned aside from their genuine meaning. Other words were formed upon the vulgar tongues, with a Latin termination, such as *guerra* for *bellum*, *treuga* for *induciae*. *Miles* was a knight, and *bellum* was a battle. Not only the pure Latin classics were neglected, but even the ancient fathers, Sts Cyprian, Jerome, Augustine, Hilary, were often ill understood, and worse imitated. Yet in this age St Bernard and Abailard spoke and wrote Latin much better than it had been in the preceding age.

About the middle of this century some began to write in what was called *Romans, i. e.* the French of the day; but it was chiefly in rhymes or ballads upon arms or amours, in order to amuse such of the nobility as could read them. Hence the origin and title of romances. By degrees, history and serious subjects were attempted in the common language; but even in these neither orthography nor distinction of singular and plural, nor uniform construction, nor any regular system of grammar, were observed. The people of those days seem to have thought it would have been a profanation of grammar to have applied it to the mother tongue.

At that time, laics, even of the rank of barons, could seldom read or write. Hence, when they had occasion for any epistolary correspondence, they called a clerk, that is, an ecclesiastic, to whom they communicated their subject matter, and he wrote in Latin, according to his skill, and explained the answer when returned.

The efforts that were made, in this age, to enlighten and reform, fell far short of dissipating ignorance or restoring order. Many, even among the clergy, were grossly ignorant, and not a few immoral.

Religion.—Theologians of the foregoing

ages wrote only upon theological questions, when it became necessary to defend or explain the universal faith; but now logic and metaphysics were introduced into the schools of divinity. Theologians who undertook to conciliate the acts of Christian faith with the principles of philosophy, and with the opinions of particular philosophers, walked on slippery ground, where curiosity or temerity might, even unwittingly, occasion a fall. Had Abailard confined himself to the revival of learning, he might have, by his talents, rendered essential service to the republic of letters; but his theological works contained unusual expressions, extraordinary opinions, comparisons that might be easily abused, and even evident errors with regard to the Trinity. His errors upon the satisfaction of Jesus Christ are still more pernicious.

Gilbert de la Porrée, about the same time, by his taste for the logical and metaphysical abstractions then in vogue, opposed the simplicity of the Divine nature. As both these theologians retracted their errors, they were not personally condemned.

Arnauld de Bresse, a monk, and a disciple of Abailard, to gain celebrity, besides opposing certain other *dogmata* of faith, taught that the clergy could not lawfully possess any lands or funded property; that those who did so

would be damned. He stirred up the people against Pope Eugenius III. and exhorted the Romans to reinstate the senate and ancient government of Rome, which had made their ancestors masters of the world. He was excommunicated by Adrian IV. and driven from Rome. This seditious monk retired into Tuscany, where he was held as a prophet. He was, however, taken and brought back to Rome, and condemned by the government of that city to be hanged: his body was burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Tiber. Thus the people who honoured Arnauld as a saint while he preached against the authority of the pope, in dread of an interdict from that same authority, abandoned and condemned their saint and prophet to an ignominious death. What wise man would court or rely on the inconstant mob?

That a seditious person, raising commotion and disturbance in a state, ought, by the civil power, to be condemned to suffer the punishment he has justly deserved, I willingly admit; but I certainly regret and disapprove of the crusades against the Albigenses at this time, and all such persecutions of heretics by churchmen, howsoever abominable the tenets of such heretics may have been.

Our Saviour bidding Peter sheathe his sword, clearly indicates that the arms he left

to his church are merely spiritual. He having at his disposal legions of angels to crush his enemies to powder, contented himself with praying and dying for them. His doctrine was to be propagated and maintained by the maxims of patience, mildness, and humility which it inculcated; and the sword he brought us was to combat and vanquish our own passions, not to destroy his and our enemies.

The discipline and practice of the Church was, for several ages, conformable to these sacred maxims. Sulpicius Severus blamed the two bishops, Ithacus and Idacius, for applying to the secular judges for the banishment of the Priscillianists, and still more for becoming their accusers at Treves, although the tenets of that sect were shamefully lewd and obscene. St Martin also begged Ithacus to desist, and the emperor not to spill their blood: but when some of those persons were put to death, both St Ambrose and St Martin withdrew from the communion of Ithacus and those of his party. A bishop called Theognostus publicly declared against the pursuers.

Whilst the Donatists, and especially their *circumcellions*, committed the greatest cruelties against the Catholics in Africa, St Augustine wrote to his friend, the proconsul of Africa, who had orders to execute the imperial laws against those worthless miscreants: "When

" you judge the causes of the church, however " atrocious the injuries she has suffered, we " beg you to forget that you have the power " of taking away life; nor despise the petition " we offer in favour of those unhappy men, " for whose amendment we pour out our sup- " plications to Almighty God."

The same St Augustine writes in a similar spirit of charity to Count Marcellinus in favour of some Donatists who had murdered one of his priests and mutilated another. He begs him to spare the guilty: " for we should " be sorry," says he, " that the sufferings of " the servants of God should be revenged by " the law of retaliation." But, alas! this mild and holy discipline seems to have been forgotten from the eighth age; and every true disciple of Christ has to lament the cruelties which the different denominations of Christians have inflicted on each other. Happily our country knew little of such horrors before the sixteenth century.

A. C. 1814. Alexander crowned.

CHAPTER VIII.

Alexander II. crowned—King John of England invades the goods of the Church—draws upon himself the censure of the Pope—subjects his kingdom to Rome—Archbishop Langton espouses the cause of the barons—John's embassy to Miramolin—Magna Charta—Alexander joins the English barons—John invades Scotland—Alexander imitates the destruction—The barons invite Lewis, son of Philip king of France—Lewis and the barons make common cause with Alexander—Death of King John—Alexander returns to Scotland—Henry III. crowned—Lewis returns to France—Alexander absolved from censures—Avarice of Gaulo the legate—Liberty of the Scottish Church confirmed by Pope Honorius III.—Death of Earl David—Barbarous murder—Complaints against the legates—Grant of the Pope to hold provincial or national councils—Proposals of marriage with Marjory, sister of Alexander—Renewed claim of superiority over Scotland in Church and State—Death of Ermengarde—Revolt in Galloway suppressed—Conference of Henry and Alexander—Death of the Queen of Scotland—The Pope's legate refused entrance into Scotland—Affiance of young Alexander with Princess Margaret of England—Murder of the Earl of Athol—Jealousies of Henry against Alexander—Agreement mediated—National council at Perth—Scottish nobles accompany Lewis IX. to the Holy Land—Death and character of Alexander III.—Illustrations.

A. C. 1214. Alexander crowned.

ALEXANDER II. succeeded his father William. After his coronation at Scone he spent fourteen days at Aberbrothic, attending the sacred duties which were performed for the soul of his deceased father. He caused solemn masses to be celebrated throughout the kingdom for the same purpose, and gave orders that mourning should be observed in every

place of the realm; as also, that no public exhibitions of amusement, or splendid entertainments, should be given for a year. Himself, and all the royal family, wore deep mourning dresses for that space of time. A. C. 1214.

His first council was held at Edinburgh, in which he confirmed all the acts of his father's reign, and ratified the appointments of all persons in their offices and charges as they had been nominated by his parent. In particular, William a Bosco, bishop of Dumblane, to continue Chancellor, and Allan Lord Galloway to retain the office of High Constable.

Ermengarde, the queen-mother, being desirous to spend the remainder of her days at Forfar, where St Margaret had lived some time, the king assigned her that castle, with the adjoining pasture, lake, and fields, for her habitation. That queen bought from Richard de Reule the lands of Balmerinach in Fife, for one thousand merks sterling, and founded thereon the Cistertian monastery, which was a stately building, pleasantly situated near the mouth of the Tay.

A descent was made in Moray by Donald M'William, associated with an Irish chieftain. They were easily defeated.

Alexander was now involved in a quarrel with the king of England,—for the better understanding of which it will be necessary to

A. C. 1214. enter a little farther into the history of that latter monarch than the nature of this work seems, otherwise, to require.

For several years past, King John had drawn upon himself the complaints of the clergy, the displeasure of the pope, the resentment of the nobility, the indignation and contempt of neighbouring princes, and of mankind in general. He was addicted to many grievous and shameful vices; but avarice, *the root of all evil*, seemed so rivetted in him, that he broke through every law divine and human to gratify that sordid passion. He began by invading the goods of the church, in defiance of the canon law; to exact sums as he thought proper, and pillaged or banished the kingdom all those who resisted him. Pope Innocent III. at first expostulated and admonished; when calm entreaties were neglected, he assumed a higher tone; and when threats also were despised, proceeded not only to what his power was competent, viz. the sentence of excommunication, but, by an overstretch of his power, erroneously claimed at that time, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and deposed John himself from his royal dignity.

John of England invades the goods of the Church.

Draws upon him the censures, &c. of the Pope.

But John not only despised the thunders of the Vatican, but also, most impolitically, harrassed and oppressed the nobles and barons of England by enormous and unjust exactions.

A. C. 1214.

The pope had recourse to what was called the secular arm, and the nobles also joined in soliciting the aid of the neighbouring princes to deliver them from the oppression of the tyrant. Philip king of France, and afterwards Alexander king of Scotland, entered warmly into the interests of the oppressed, and promised to support them with their armies for the redress of their grievances.

But if the pontiff nominally deprived John of his kingdom, he saved it for him in reality. For though John had assembled a numerous army and a powerful fleet, yet he was justly afraid of being deserted by his own troops when attacked by the enemy, being conscious that he was hated by his subjects. In this dilemma, there arrived at Dover two Knights-Templars, whoimmediately waited on the king, saying, they were sent by Pandolph, the pope's legate, to propose to his majesty the means of reconciling himself with the church, and saving his kingdom, which, otherwise, the king of France, invited by almost all the barons in England, and authorised by the pontiff, was about to seize. The king immediately dispatched the Templars to bring Pandolph to him, and at Dover, on the 13th May 1213, agreed to the proposals of the legate, and to make full satisfaction for the faults which

A. C 1214. had drawn upon him the sentence of excommunication.

Subjects his kingdom to the see of Rome

Two days after, the king, by an authentic charter, declared that, for the expiation of his sins, of his own free will, and by the advice and consent of his barons, he made over to the apostolic see, to Innocent and to his successors, the kingdoms of England and Ireland, with all their rights; and that he would henceforth hold them as the pope's vassal, and do him homage as his liege lord; and that he would pay him annually 700 marks for England, 300 for Ireland, and that he hereby obliges all his successors to continue that tribute, under penalty of forfeiting their crown. This instrument was given to Pandolph to carry to Rome; and John, even then, did homage, and swore fealty to the pope, in the person of his legate.

The consequence of John's peace with Rome was the admission of Langton to the see of Canterbury, (which the pope had before insisted on, and John had peremptorily refused,) and the restoration of the exiled bishops. John received them with kindness and seeming penitence. The primate led him to the chapter-house of Winchester, where he made oath to defend the church and clergy, and re-establish the good laws of his ancestors. The primate gave him absolution. The damage

which the prelates and other churchmen had sustained being compensated at the sight of the pope's legate, the interdict was removed; the *Te Deum* was sung; the bells tolled, and joy was universally diffused. A. C. 1215.

Archbishop Langton espouses the cause of the barons.

But Archbishop Langton, actuated either by zeal for liberty and right, or resenting the opposition the king had made to his instalment, raised a greater storm than John had hitherto to struggle with. This prelate informed the barons of a charter of liberties granted to their ancestors by Henry I. which he had happily found in a monastery, and exhorted them to insist on the renewal and observance of it. The barons readily closed with the proposal; and, at the end of the Christmas holidays, they appeared in London, and demanded of the king a renewal of Henry's charter, and a confirmation of the laws of St Edward.

The king, alarmed by their zeal and unanimity, requested a delay, promised to give an answer to their petition at Easter, and offered sureties for the fulfilment of the engagement. The barons accepted of the terms, and returned in quietness to their castles.

How sincere John was, in his concessions, may be judged from an incident related by Matthew Paris, if it can be relied on.

Whilst he was negociating with the pope, he sent a secret embassy to Miramolin, king of

A. C. 1215.

John sends an embassy to the king of Morocco.

Morocco, by two knights, and a clergyman called Robert of London, with an offer of subjecting his kingdom to Miramolin, and holding it of him as tributary, and, moreover, of renouncing the Christian religion, and becoming Mahomedan, on condition that the said king would assist and protect him against his foreign and domestic enemies.

When this strange offer was made to Miramolin, he shut a book that was lying before him, then, after a short pause, he addressed the two knights as follows: "I have just been "reading a Greek book, written by a Chris- "tian sage, named Paul, whose doctrine and "actions I very much admire; but there is "one thing I dislike in him, and that is, that "he quitted the religion of his forefathers. I "say the same with regard to your master, "who offers to renounce the Christian religion, "so holy and so pure. God, who knows all "things, knows that if I had my religion to "choose, I should certainly embrace that faith "preferably to any other." Then, asking many questions regarding the natives, the produce, the laws, the arts, and industry of the nation, he said with a sigh, "I have never read "or heard of a prince possessing so fine a king- "dom, who would willingly render himself "and it tributary to a stranger. Your master

" must be a weak and silly monarch: I deem " him altogether unworthy of my alliance." A. C. 1215.

Miramolin thus dismissed the two *chevaliers*; but, remarking the clerk Robert, who had remained silent, in a corner of the hall, and seeing him a little ill-looking man, he supposed, that this must surely be a person of considerable intellect, else, considering his ungracious appearance, he could not have been selected for so important an embassy; he therefore kept him, and put several questions to him. Robert satisfied him fully, and told him honestly that John was a tyrant, overbearing to his subjects, and the dupe of strangers; that he had lost, by his own mismanagement, the dutchy of Normandy, and many other lands; that he was ruining his kingdom, was odious to his subjects, by his exactions, usurpations, adulteries, and debauchery.

Miramolin added maledictions to his contempt of John, and blamed the too great patience of the English, in not shaking off the yoke of such a monster. He made great presents to Robert in sending him away. Matthew Paris says he learnt these particulars from Robert himself.

During the delay that John had obtained from the barons, he endeavoured to gain the clergy: he laid his grievances before the pope. The barons neglected not to petition the pon-

A. C. 1215. Magna Charta.

tiff to use his authority with the king for the restoration of their rights. At length, after various and unavailing expedients, John signed and sealed the celebrated deed called the *Great Charter*, at Runnamede, between Windsor and Staines, on the 15th June.

As John had signed the charter with a suspicious facility, so he soon endeavoured to disentangle himself from its restraints. He retired to the isle of Wight: he sent agents to Rome to solicit the aid of the pope: he sent other agents through the continent to hire foreign troops. The pope absolved him from an oath which was represented as unjustly tendered, and given by terror and extortion: he excommunicated, in general terms, the disturbers of the peace. About Michaelmas, John's foreign mercenaries arrived, and he had, for some time, a rapid success. Having reduced many places of strength about London, he led an army against the rebellious barons of the north. These had recourse to Alexander, the young king of Scotland, for protection against John; and, in order to obtain that defence, they did homage to Alexander at Felton. They also promised him the surrender of Carlisle, and the investiture of Northumberland, which justly belonged to him.

Alexander joins the barons of England.

Alexander espoused the cause of the barons, invested the castle of Norham, but without

success; and after forty days was obliged to raise the siege. A. C. 1215.

Incensed at these proceedings, John pursued his march northwards in the depth of winter. The Yorkshire barons, who had been in the combination against him, following the example of their neighbours in Northumberland, came to Alexander at Melrose, and swore fealty to him in the chapter-house of the monastery. John followed them, destroying and burning their towns, houses, and estates. They had indeed themselves partly destroyed their corn and bestial, to distress their oppressor by want of provisions. The ruthless tyrant urges on; and Mitford, Morpeth, Alnwick, Werk, and Roxburgh, sink beneath the flames; Berwick is stormed; men and women are hung up by the joints of the hands or feet to make them discover their money or goods; and every torture that cruelty can invent, vengeance inflicts. He bursts into Scotland. All Lothian is in a blaze; Dunbar and Haddington are destroyed by the devouring element. In allusion to Alexander's reddish hair, "We will smoke," says he, "the fox-cub "from his kennel." His fury defeats his malevolent aim: the fear of hunger stops his career: an army cannot long subsist in a country which it has desolated. Alexander with an army encamped on the Esk, hoping to in-

John invades the Scottish dominions.

A. C. 1216.

tercept John in his retreat; but John's object was not to fight, but to lay waste. The priory of Coldingham, which had escaped in his advancement, is burnt on his return. Berwick, already pillaged, is laid in ashes. The king sets the example, by setting fire, with his own hands, to the house which had afforded him shelter the preceding night.

Alexander imitates the destruction.

Alexander, by a conduct no less barbarous and yet more impolitical, broke into the north of England, ravaged and desolated the country which he himself claimed as his right, and the possessions, probably, of those who had sworn fealty to him: and to complete the similarity, his savage followers burnt the monastery of Holmecultram in Cumberland.—*Saltantes Satyros imitabitur Alphisibæus.*

On their return home, the river Eden being much swoln, 1900 of these plunderers, with their booty, perished in the flood.

The English barons perceiving that Alexander, though a prince of great spirit, was unable to protect them against John's warlike mercenaries, had recourse to a desperate remedy. They invited Lewis, son and heir of Philip king of France, to come and take possession of the crown of England, on condition that Philip should support them against their own dreaded and detested sovereign. The offer was readily accepted.

The barons invite the King of France.

Gaulo, cardinal and legate of the pope, came instantly to France to remonstrate with Philip against his son's attempting any thing against John, a vassal of the holy see. Philip answered, that the kingdom of England never was, and never could be, the patrimony of St Peter.* That John had forfeited all right to that throne by having attempted to dethrone his brother Richard, and by the murder of his nephew Arthur. Lewis embarked at Calais with a great army, and was received with great joy by the barons. A. C. 1213.

Lewis summoned the English barons and prelates to assemble at London, in order to swear fealty to him. The king of Scotland was also summoned in quality of vassal to the English crown. Alexander marched into England with a considerable army, took the city of Carlisle, but was not able to reduce the castle. In passing through Durham, he assaulted Bernard castle, the seat of Hugh de Baliol. Eustace de Vesey received there a mortal wound, to the great grief of Alexander his brother-in-law, and to the great loss of the barons. The young king of Scotland joined Lewis at Dover (which he was besieging,) and

* Fleuri Hist. Eccles. Livre lxx. p. 364.—Philip did not reason very correctly. The attainder passed upon John had been reversed, and Richard by his last will had declared John his successor. His sentence by the peers of France, for the murder of Arthur, could only affect his French possessions.

A. C. 1216

there paid homage to him for the possessions which he had a right to in England.

Lewis and the English Barons make common cause with Alexander.

Both Lewis and the barons on this occasion recognised Alexander's right to the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland. Lewis and the barons also swore that they would make no peace with John without including the Scottish king. After having remained fifteen days with Lewis, Alexander set out on his return to Scotland. Gaulo launched his thunders against John's enemies. A party of John's forces endeavoured to obstruct the passage of Alexander's troops over the Trent. Meanwhile John ended his miserable life at Newark upon that river near the end of October. His death is ascribed by some to grief for having lost his regalia, baggage, and treasure; by others to a surfeit of fish and of drinking too much new cyder: others, finally, have attributed his death to poison administered by a monk whose monastery John had intended to destroy.*

Death of King John.

Finding himself dying, John declared his eldest son Henry his successor, and wrote a letter to Rome, putting his son, with his king-

* The monk is said to have foretasted the impoisoned prunes which he served up to the king, and fell a willing victim to his nefarious purpose. He had previously wrote the king's epitaph as follows;

Quis dolet, aut doleat Regis de morte Joannis
Qui bona pauca fecit, mala plurima, plurimis annis.

Fordun, Lib. ix. c. 29.

dom, under the protection of that see. Innocent III. died the 19th July preceding, and was succeeded, two days after, by Honorius III. A. C. 1216.

Alexander is said to have plundered the camp of the deceased king, and being enriched with the spoils, returned safe to his own country. Alexander returns to Scotland.

Immediately Gaulo, the legate, together with a good many of the bishops, abbots, priors, several of the nobility, and a great concourse of the people, declared Henry king, who was only nine years old. Next day, 28th of October, in the conventual church of Gloucester, he was crowned with all the usual ceremony, took the usual oaths, did homage to the pope for his kingdoms of England and Ireland, and promised to pay the stipulated tribute. Henry III. crowned.

There was soon a great defection of the English barons to their natural prince; and a total defeat given to Lewis's army at Lincoln in the ensuing May, (followed by the destruction of a fleet which was bringing him over a great reinforcement,) reduced him to a necessity of abandoning England. By the interposal of the legate, a treaty was concluded, in an island of the Thames. A safe retreat was secured to Lewis, upon his renouncing all his claims Lewis returns to France.

A. C. 1217.

in England. Favourable conditions were granted to the barons who had adhered to Lewis.*

Alexander, by joining Lewis and the revolted barons, &c., and the Scottish prelates for communicating with their king and his army while under sentence of excommunication, had drawn upon themselves, and the whole kingdom, the censures of Rome.† Yet the legate gave power to the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Durham, to absolve the king upon his surrendering the town and castle of Carlisle,‡ (which Alexander had taken and fortified after Lewis had returned to France.) The king, therefore, with all his lay attendants, received absolution at Tweedmouth.

Alexander absolved from censure.

Alexander, conducted by the constable of Chester, waited on the English king at Northampton, and did homage for the earldom of Huntingdon, and the other lands and honours which his predecessors had held of the kings of England.‖ But although Walter de Wisebech had come to Scotland with special powers from the pontiff to remove the interdict from that country, yet Gaulo contrived, by

* It may be not unfairly presumed, that Lewis kept his promise of not making a separate peace. Fordun says, he took security that all who had risen against Henry or his father should be restored to the same condition in which they were before the war broke out,—Lib. ix. c. 30. Ridpath says, that the king of Scotland was declared to be included in the peace, on condition of his restoring all the castles, prisoners, and lands he had seized in the course of the war.

† Fordun, Lib. ix. c. 31.
‡ Ibid. c. 30.
§ Ibid. c. 31.
‖ Boece, xiii. 292.

selfish wiles, to have the absolution postponed, that he might have a hit at the prelates and clergy, who were more within his power, and that he might not return empty-handed. A. C. 1218.

Avarice of Gaulo, the legate.

The legate gave a commission to two sub-delegates, viz. William prior of Durham, and the said Walter de Wisebech, archdeacon of the east-riding of Yorkshire, to absolve Scotland from the interdict, with the inferior clergy, religious and secular, as also the laity, from excommunication, but reserving the prelates and clergymen of higher rank for his own tribunal. The delegates travelled through Scotland from Berwick to Aberdeen, executing their commission with great pomp, and having their favour courted with great presents. On their return, the room in which they slept, by some accident, took fire, and the prior of Durham was suffocated by the smoke. The archdeacon escaped, to the sorrow and vexation of the Cistertian monks, who, because they disputed the authority of Gaulo and his understrappers, were first interdicted and then excommunicated by Wisebech.

Gaulo summoned the Scottish prelates and dignified clergy to appear before him at Northallerton about Easter, determining to make them redeem their liberty and exemption from censure by a round sum. Those who preferred peace and quietness to a difficult re-

A. C. 1219. sistance, made the best bargain they could; but many were indignant to be trodden on by a tyrannical and avaricious abuser, and even counted it criminal to connive at a sacrilegious extortion. These Gaulo obliged to repair to Rome: nor were they averse to a journey which afforded them the opportunity of impeaching their oppressor. The bishops of Glasgow, Moray, and Caithness were kindly received by the pontiff Honorius III.; and, whilst the prelates were making some humble admissions, in order to receive the absolution, which was easily granted, a by-standing cardinal waggishly observed, in a tone sufficiently audible, "Piarum mentium est crimen agnoscere, ubi ne quidem culpa reperitur,"—"*Their consciences must be scrupulously delicate, who own a crime where others cannot discover the shadow of a misdemeanour.*"

Complaints of the Bishops.

The complaint of the bishops against Gaulo, added to the accusations and interest of the Cistertian abbots, proved too strong for that legate. He was recalled and fined, and Pandolph, now bishop of Norwich, was appointed legate in his stead. The Scottish bishops were dismissed with honour, the privileges of the Cistertians were augmented, and Honorius confirmed the liberties of the Scottish church.

Liberties of the Scottish church confirmed by Honorius III.

Death of Earl David.

About this time Earl David of Huntingdon died in England. He was eminently pious, and

renowned for his expedition to the Holy Land along with Richard Cœur de Lion. He was buried in an abbey which Fordun calls *Sautieia*, and Boece writes it *Sevecia*. He was succeeded by his only surviving son, John the Scot, who, after the death of his maternal uncle, was entitled Earl of Chester. This John died without issue. Earl David left three daughters: A. C. 1220.

1. Margaret, married to Allan, Lord Galloway;
2. Isabella, married to Robert de Brus or Bruce;
3. Ada, married to Henry de Hastings.

The two monarchs met at York. Henry's eldest sister, Jane, had been committed to the care of Hugh de Lusignan, son of the Count de la Marche, who engaged to marry her when she arrived at mature age. Hugh, after the death of King John, married Jane's mother; yet for some selfish purpose detained the princess. Henry offered her in marriage to Alexander, if she could be recovered from Lusignan; if not, he promised to give him his second sister Isabella. Alexander agreed to the proposal, and promised to fulfil it. By the same deed, Henry engaged to find, within a year after the feast of St Dennis, suitable matches for the king of Scotland's two sisters, who had remained in England from the time they were delivered to King John by their father William. If they were not married within the time specified, they were to be restored to their brother. 1221.

A. C. 1221. The Princess Jane was delivered to her brother Henry. Alexander espoused her at York next year, on the 25th June. His eldest sister, Margaret, was soon after married to Hubert de Burgh, guardian of the king and kingdom of England, and chief justiciary. Isabella, his second sister, was, some time afterwards, married to Roger Bigod, the young Earl of Norfolk, of whom (as he was a minor at the time of his marriage) Alexander purchased the wardship from the king of England for five hundred merks.* Alexander settled on his young queen a jointure of L. 1000† annual land-rent.

1222. An insurrection broke out in Argyle ;‡ Alexander raised an army in Lothian and Galloway; and while he was conveying it by sea to quell the insurrection, he was driven back by a tempestuous storm, and, after great danger of himself and army, happily got safe into Glasgow. Next year, after Pentecost, he reached Argyle. Many of the delinquents made their peace by paying fines and delivering hostages. Several of the ringleaders fled for safety, leaving their property, which the king apportioned among his followers.

The inhabitants of Caithness§ thinking their

* Dugdale Baronage. † Fordun, i 252. ‡ Ibid. ix. 35. † Ibid. ix. 37.

The pope, (Honorius III.) writes, on the 13th of February 1223, to the Scottish bishops to lay an interdict upon all the lands of those who were concerned in this murder,--Fleur, Lib. lxxviii. 510. The same historian informs us of a remarkably severe penance enjoined on one Lumberd for having cut out the tongue of another bishop of Caithness, A. D. 1203.- L 75.

bishop, Adam, demanded his tithes too peremptorily, laid hold of him, and having cruelly scourged him in his own house of Hawkirk, burnt him. His corpse, mangled with wounds, and hot from the fire, was covered with a *cairn* of stones, but afterwards dug out and decently buried. The king, then at Jedburgh, hearing of this shocking murder, proceeded thither with a military force, and having apprehended the principal authors and actors, who amounted to four hundred, punished them by the death they deserved; and, by a punishment which seems to have prevailed in those barbarous times, emasculated their children, that the race of the culprits might be extinct. The Earl of Caithness, because he neither hindered the wicked deed, nor punished the perpetrators, had his honours attainted and his estate confiscated; but, afterwards, both were restored to him upon his paying an amercement. He was, however, some years aftewards, assassinated by his servants, whom he had treated somewhat roughly. After having murdered the earl, in order to prevent a discovery of the wicked deed, they laid him into his bed and set fire to the house.*

A. C. 1222. Barbarous murder.

Alexander imposed a land-tax of L.10,000* for portioning his sisters: the eleemosynary 1224.

* Ford. ix. 43.

A. C. 1224. grants for pious establishments were (by use and wont) exempt from this aid.

Ægidus,* another legate from Pope Honorius, soliciting a subsidy for a new expedition to the Holy Land, and for redemption of the Christians held captive by the Saracens, collected a considerable sum from the benevolence of the clergy and laity, but squandered the money in folly and extravagance. Having returned to Rome with empty pockets, he pretended he had been robbed by the way: wherefore another legate was despatched on the same errand; but before his arrival in Scotland, Alexander summoned a council to deliberate how the Scottish nation ought to treat those extraordinary supplicants. In the assembly, a prelate, highly incensed against the avarice of the Roman legates, arose, and represented to the assembly, that one unworthy legate of the holy see, without any special order from the pontiff, had laid Scotland under an interdict, and extorted money for removing it, in order to glut his own avarice: That another legate, under pious pretexts, had swindled both clergy and laity of considerable sums, which he had sacrilegiously wasted in luxury and extravagance: That having been twice caught in the trap by simplicity and humanity, it would surely be their own blame if they allowed

Complaint against the legates.

* Boece, Book xiii. fol. 293.

themselves a third time to be entangled in the snare. "If there be any thing (said he) to "spare in the kingdom, after what has been "unfairly wrenched from us, there are not "wanting many poor at home, for whose re- "lief our charity may be far better bestow- "ed. Wherefore, considering the exhausted "state of the kingdom, and the general out- "cry of the people, I move that his Majesty "enact, that neither the legate now advanc- "ing, or any future legate, on a similar er- "rand, shall enter this realm."

A. C. 1224.

The speech was applauded, and the motion unanimously agreed to. The legate was obliged to draw bridle and return, with less danger of falling in with robbers.

Pope Honorius III. authorised the Scottish bishops to hold a national council, although they had no metropolitan. It was a privilege which they had often exercised in times past, and which they wisely made use of afterwards, without the presidency of any foreign prelate or legate.

Grant to hold national councils in Scotland.

Gillespic,* a Ross-shire free-booter, having killed some of his gang who refused to join him in rebellion with the rest, burnt some wooden forts in Moray,—attacked, during the night, the castle of a baron called Thomas of Thirlstan, and slew the master himself. He

* Fordun, ix. 47.

A C. 1224. then assailed, took, and burnt Inverness, and plundered the royal demesnes in that vicinity. The king led an armed force against him, but Gillespic eluded his pursuit. Next year, John Comyn earl of Buchan, Justiciary of Scotland, with an army of foot and horse, was sent against the rebel; and having pursued him through wild and rugged lurking places, at length caught him, and sent his head to the king, together with those of his two sons.

About this time, Richard earl of Cornwall, the king of England's only brother, paid a visit to the Scottish king, with a view of contracting a marriage with Marjory, the youngest sister of Alexander.* The king, with the royal suitor, after having paraded Lothian in great pomp, proceeded to Kinghorn, where the princess resided with her mother. But the match not being relished by Henry, and Richard demanding a high dowery, Alexander having entertained his visitor with great attention and respect, by advice of his nobles, dismissed him without agreeing to his proposals.

Proposals of marriage with Marjory, sister to Alexander.

A few years after, Henry himself became the suitor of the same lady, and had even agreed with Alexander on the conditions;† but the English nobles, headed by the Earl of Marischal, remonstrated against this alliance, alleging, that it was unbecoming the king to

* Fordun, ix. 46. † Mat. Paris, p. 312.

marry the younger sister, when the elder was married to Hubert de Burgh. The king, therefore, though reluctantly, was induced to break his engagements. A. C. 1228.

The Princess Marjory was afterwards married to Gilbert earl of Pembroke, and Earl* Marshal of England, the brother and heir of the Earl Marshal who had so strenuously opposed her marriage with the king.

1233. Claim of superiority over Scotland in Church and State.

The archbishop of York, still wishing to assert his claim of jurisdiction over the Scottish church, complained to Pope Gregory IX. that Alexander had caused himself to be crowned, in prejudice of the king of England's superiority as his lord paramount, and against the right of the see of York; the archbishop whereof was entitled to officiate at the coronation of the Scottish kings.† Henry gave his approbation to this appeal; and the Pope was led to believe, that the liege homage and fealty rendered to Henry II. by William king of Scotland, in consequence of his captivity, still continued due. Gregory, therefore, being ignorant of the solemn renunciation of that liege homage by Richard I. issued a bull, admonishing Alexander to perform the conditions of the old treaty, as conducing to the tranquillity of both kingdoms. That appeal, however, had no other effect than to begin those jealou-

* Char. Melrose. † Fordun, xi. 44. Rhymer, i. 328.

A. C. 1233.

sies and dissensions, which various causes raised to greater discord between the two nations.

Death of the Queen-dowager.

Ermengarde, queen-dowager of Scotland, in a venerable old age, and with a spotless character, paid the last debt of nature. Her remains were interred in the monastery of St Edward, Balmerinach, which she had founded. Her death was a loss to the concord of England and Scotland.*

About this time some of the Dominican friars came to Scotland. Alexander, when in France, had desired their founder to send them for the instruction of his subjects.† A few years after they were followed by some of the Franciscan order. Both did well for some time, but afterwards stood in need of renewing their fervour.

Dornagilla, daughter of Allan, Lord of Galloway, and of Margaret, daughter of David earl of Huntingdon, married John Baliol, Lord of Bernard castle.‡ The fruit of that marriage was John Baliol, afterwards king of Scotland. In this year died William Comyn earl of Buchan, who founded the abbey of Deer in 1218, and endowed it with a great many lands in that vicinity.§ It was given to the Cistertian order. The first monks came from Kinloss.

Same year died Allan Lord Galloway, high constable of Scotland.‖ He was buried in the

* Char. Melrose 201. † Boece, Book xiii. fol. 293. ‡ Chart. Melrose.
§ Ford. ix, 48. ‖ Ibidem.

abbey of Dundrennan. He left three daughters co-heiresses, all unmarried, and divided his estates equally among them. Helen, the eldest by a former marriage, was united with Roger de Quinci, earl of Winchester; Dornagilla, as aforesaid, married John Baliol; Christina was the wife of William des Forts, son of the Earl of Albemarle. A. C. 1235.

The Gallovidians, unwilling to have their country dismembered and parcelled out amongst the three legitimate daughters or their husbands, requested the king that Thomas, the bastard son of their late lord, (who had married the daughter of the Lord of Mann,) might be appointed successor to his father. The king refused the request, and supported the just claim of the sisters.

Revolt in Galloway suppressed.

The Gallovidians rose in arms, and their leader was also joined by Gilrodh, an Irish chief, with many followers from Ireland and the isle of Mann. The king in person led an army against them. Whilst his army were in their encampments, the enemy suddenly sallied out upon them from the mountains and woods. Luckily they had to pass through a quagmire overgrown with moss. Whilst they were entangled in the morass, Machentagard, Earl of Ross, attacked them behind, and routed them with great slaughter. The bastard, with his ally Gilrodh, fled to Ireland. Next

A. C. 1233. day, the discomfited natives, in humble plight, with halters round their necks, implored and obtained the king's mercy. Next year, the defeated chiefs returned from Ireland with a new army.* At landing they destroyed their vessels, to preclude their followers from hopes of escaping; but seeing the superior army under the command of the Earl of March, they took the advice of the bishop of Candida Casa and the abbot of Melrose, and surrendered themselves prisoners. Gilrodh remained some time in the earl's custody. The bastard was detained a while in Edinburgh castle: both were set at liberty. The poor Irish, straggling along the shore, in hopes of some opportunity of a passage home, were pursued and slain by the citizens of Glasgow, two only excepted, who were sent to Edinburgh to undergo a death yet more terrible, being torn asunder at horse tails.

1235. The marriage of Henry king of England with Eleanor of Provence, brought him under the influence of a new set of favourites. The resentment of the English barons was provoked to an extreme degree.† Alexander, with his queen, and Isabella his sister, hastened to London to mediate an agreement of the parties. Both parties had also applied to the pope. Otho was sent as legate *a latere* to the king-

* Ford. ix. 49.

† Boece, Book xiii. fol. 295.

doms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Matters were in some measure settled in England; but Alexander had great claims against Henry. A. C. 1235.

The kings had an interview at Newcastle. Alexander there demanded delivery of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, on right of inheritance; and further alleged, that King John had engaged to restore them in dowery with his daughter. A definitive answer to this demand was delayed. Henry, probably with a view of softening Alexander,* made a grant to his sister, the queen of Scotland, of the manor of Dryfield, and at another time of the manor of Staunton, during her life. Conference of Henry and Alexander.

The monarchs held another conference at York,† on the 22d day of September, in which Otho the legate presided. The two queens, with a great many of the barons of both kingdoms were present;—the conference lasted fifteen days. Alexander renewed his former demands, and farther complained, that his father William had paid to John, father of Henry, 15,000 merks of silver, on condition that Henry and Richard should marry Margaret and Isabella, the daughters of William, which had not been fulfilled. He mentioned also that Henry himself had failed in the execution of a treaty by which he had become bound to marry the Princess Marjory. 1237.

* Rymer, i. 376. † Fordun, ix. 53.

A. C. 1237. It was agreed, that, for the perpetual extinction of all the above claims, Henry should grant to Alexander lands of L.200 yearly rent within the counties of Northumberland and Cumberland.* The king of Scotland paid homage and swore fealty to Henry for the lands above-mentioned; and, in lieu of all demands therefrom, was to deliver a falcon into the hands of the constable of the castle of Carlisle, on the feast of the Assumption. The indemnity was certainly trifling and unequal; but Alexander was a wise and prudent prince, and doubtless saw that, considering the circumstances in which he was placed, he could not make a better bargain.

Death of the Queen of Scotland. The queen of Scotland did not return home with her husband. She accompanied Queen Eleanor on a journey of devotion to Canterbury, and spent the winter in England.† She had long laboured under a dangerous malady. She expired in the arms of her two brothers, at London, on the 4th of March, and was interred in the Nun's church of Thanet.‡ She had no children.

1239. Alexander's second marriage. Next year Alexander took for his second wife Mary, the daughter of Ingelram de Couci, a nobleman of Picardy. They were married at Roxburgh on the 15th May; and, at at the same place, on the 4th September 1241, the queen brought forth a son, who bore his

* Rymer, i. 374. † Boece, Lib. xiii. fol. 295. ‡ Fordun, Lib. liii.

father's name, and succeeded him in the king- A. C. 1239.
dom. The queen's provision was to be the third part of the royal revenue, which is said to have amounted to 4000 merks.

On the 18th June 1239, Edward, son of Henry III. was born.*

The Pope's legate refused entrance into Scotland.

After the conference at York, Otho, by virtue of his legantine commission, proposed to King Alexander to visit his kingdom; but the king declined the honour, and even strongly opposed the legate's entrance into Scotland. It was, he said, wholly unnecessary, all ecclesiastical matters being in good order. He also hinted that the legate might be in personal danger from the ferocity of the inhabitants, whom (from their prepossession against legates) it might be difficult or impossible to restrain. Whatever impression these remonstrances might make upon the legate, it appears he did not enter Scotland till two years after:† and even then, (according to Matth. Paris) Alexander only consented to his admission when an obligation was drawn up importing that

* Lord Hailes seems astonished that the papal legate, though only in deacon's orders, baptized the young prince. If he had taken notice to the 8th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, he might have observed primitive authority for a deacon baptizing and bishops coming afterwards to confirm the new converts. Or, if his Lordship had carried his Annals down to a later period, he could have informed us of persons baptizing, &c. without any orders at all, except what they received from the rabble. The same Lord gives us, wittily, a quaint translation of the expression of Matthew Paris, *Infantem catechisavit*, which he renders, "The bishop of Carlisle *ca-*" *techised him in his cradle.*" We have known children catechised, though not in the cradle.

† Matthew Paris, p. 336.

A. C. 1239. the king's allowing the present entrance should not be drawn into a precedent.* Otho confined his visit to the southern part of the kingdom. He held a council in Edinburgh on the 19th October. The king, not chusing to give the legate his countenance, retired beyond the Forth; and Otho, after the feast of All Saints, without asking leave, set off with a sum of money, and carried with him the writing unsubscribed.

1242. Henry entering on a war with the king of France, took care to secure the friendship of the king of Scotland. The bishop of Durham was empowered to assign to Alexander the lands agreed on in the conference at York. These, says Ridpath, from Ryley,† were the manors of Penrith and Sowerby in Cumberland; according to Lord Hailes, from the copy of an English charter, they were the manors of Langwatheby, Salekild, Scotteby, Soureby, Carlaton, and L.60 out of the manor of Paindred.

Affiance of Alexander and Margaret.

The same prelate negociated a marriage between Alexander the heir of the Scottish king and Margaret daughter of the king of England, at that time both infants.

An event happened this year, atrocious in itself and vexatious in its consequences.‡ During the celebration of a tournament at Haddington, where a great concourse of the barons and knights were assembled, Patrick the earl

* Fordun, ix. c. 54. † Rymer, i. 400. ‡ Fordun, ix. 59, 61.

of Athol, an accomplished and hopeful youth, was murdered in his lodgings during the night, with two of his companions or attendants. The assassins, to conceal the murder, set fire to the lodging. Suspicion fell on William or Walter Bisset, whom young Athol had overthrown in this or rather some former tournament. On account of this and other enmities the Comyns and other barons rose against Bisset and sought his life. Bisset proved an *alibi*, shewed he was 50 miles distant from Haddington at the time of the murder. The queen, who was in Bisset's castle of Obeyn at the time, offered to make oath of Bisset's absence and innocence of the deed; but the friends of the deceased contended, that many of Bisset's servants and clients were seen at Haddington that night. The king endeavoured to bring the matter to a regular trial; but Bisset rejected trial by jury, on account of the implacable resentment of his enemies. He procured sentence of excommunication against all the murderers to be published in his own chapel, and in all the churches of the kingdom. He offered to maintain his innocence by single combat; but that was refused. The friends of Athol plundered and destroyed the lands and houses of the Bissets. All that the king could procure for them was, that they, William, John, and Walter Bisset, should abandon their coun-

A. C. 1242.

Murder of the Earl of Athol

A. C. 1242. try and estates, and swear to spend the residue of their lives in the Holy Land as pilgrims, *for the benefit of Athol's soul and their own.* Instead of fulfilling an oath, which they probably considered as forced, and which they, perhaps, never meant to keep, they retired into Ireland;* and Walter soon going to the English court, complained to Henry of the persecution he and his had undergone from the fury of the Scottish nobles and the weakness of the king, accompanying his complaints with all kinds of sycophancy and flattery; suggesting too that Alexander had no right to condemn persons of their rank† without the consent and approbation of Henry his liege lord. He also accused Alexander of granting an asylum to Geoffrey de Marais, and other fugitives and enemies of the English king. These base and ungrateful suggestions of Bisset served to fan the flames of jealousy, which had already begun to sparkle between the two nations. Walter Comyn earl of Menteith, and some other nobles, had fortified two castles, one on the west march, another in Liddesdale, called *Hermitage*, which gave umbrage to Henry;

* Fordun, ix. 61.—Ch. Mel.

† Walter Bisset was married to a sister of Allan Lord Galloway. The murdered Patrick Lord Athol, was the son of Thomas, brother of said Allan, and who, having married Isabel, eldest daughter of Henry Lord Athol, who had no son, Patrick, the son of Isabel and Thomas, succeeded his grandfather Henry. After the murder of Patrick, David de Hastings, who had married Fernelith, a younger daughter of Henry Lord Athol, succeeded to the earldom.

and when he found fault with these proceedings, as violations of Alexander's duty to his superior, Alexander boldly declared that, "*He* "*neither did, nor would, nor ought to hold from* "*the king of England the smallest part of his* "*kingdom of Scotland.*" All these irritations, added to a suspicion that Mary de Couci had inclined her husband to lean to a French alliance, inspired Henry with a resolution to invade Scotland. He applied for aid to the Earl of Flanders; instigated the Irish chiefs, also, to invade Scotland—intercepted the auxiliaries that *Jean de Couci* had sent to assist his brother-in-law, and led all the forces of his kingdom to Newcastle. Alexander, on the other hand, fortified his border castles, and assembling an army, which (according to M. Paris) amounted to 1000 cavalry, and 100,000 infantry, entered England, and advanced as far as Ponteland, within a few miles of the English.

A. C. 1242. Jealousies of Henry against Alexander.

The Scottish army renewed their oaths of fealty to their sovereign; and, having prepared themselves, by the rites of their religion, they were ready to conquer or die in the defence of the just rights of their native land. Henry seemed astonished upon hearing of the boldness and determined resolution of the Scottish army. Richard earl of Cornwall,* the

* Fordun, Lib. ix. c. 61.

A. C. 1242. Archbishop of York, and other nobles, moved by a desire of preventing the effusion of Christian blood, and by their friendship to the king of Scotland, a prince much beloved by both nations, undertook to mediate a peace. They were successful. Alexander engaged to live in peace and amity with Henry and his kingdom, and not to aid their enemies, unless the English first unjustly molested him. The treaty of York, and that of the marriage between the son of Alexander and the daughter of Henry, were to continue in force. These promises were confirmed by the oaths of four nobles, and as many prelates, *on the soul of their master.*

Agreement mediated between the kings.

Matthew Paris says,* Roger de Quinci earl of Winchester, the husband of the eldest daughter of Allan Lord Galloway, was besieged in his castle by his vassals to whom he had been severe, and who, probably, were never well affected to him; but he bravely cut a passage through them, and applied to the king, who chastised the insurgents. Boece† says, that Alexander conferred on Roger de Quinci the office of Constable of Scotland, which his father-in-law had held.

1248. National council at Perth. A national council of the prelates was held at Perth, at which the king assisted.‡ Many statutes were then enacted which continued in force until the change of religion.

* Mat. Paris, 496. † Boece, L. xiii. p. 295. ‡ Boece, ibid.

A. C. 1248.

Several statutes are said to have been enacted by Alexander. About three months before his death, a jury was appointed of English and Scotch for ascertaining the laws of the marches, and, especially, of the cases that were to be decided by single combat, of which there were many.

Scottish nobles accompanied King Louis IX. going to the Holy Land.

The pious and renowned Lewis IX. king of France, before his setting out on an expedition to the Holy Land, sent a deputation to Scotland, soliciting assistance. A select band of Scottish troops, under the command of Patrick earl of March, David Lindsay of Glenesk, and Walter Stuart of Dundonald, accompanied the French monarch. The Earl of March died by the way in the isle of Cyprus; the rest perished either by the sword or by pestilence.

1249. Death and character of Alexander.

Next year Alexander went to settle some disturbances which had arisen in Argyle. He was seized with a fever, and, after having piously received the sacraments, expired in a small island called Kernery, near the coast of Argyle, in the fifty-first year of his age and thirty-fifth of his reign, on the 8th of July. His remains, according to his desire, were interred in the church of Melrose, with royal honours and pious exequies.

Few kings have excelled Alexander II. His early youth (says Fordun) was like the mor-

A. C. 1249.

ning star, and he increased in splendour to a perfect day. He was brave without fool-hardiness, religious without fanaticism or superstition. He was the fellow-soldier of his troops; set them the example not only of valour, but also of patience and toil. He bore voluntarily the hardships and privations which they underwent by necessity. He was affable and respectful to the clergy. He favoured especially the preaching friars. He was zealous for the propagation of religion, and generous in building churches. He was condescending to his people, gentle and gracious to the good, stern and severe to the insolent and villainous. He was ardent in war, but clement to the conquered. He consoled the afflicted, was the protector of the widow and the father of the orphan. Inflexible in the administration of justice, he had no respect of persons. He himself heard and judged the causes of the poor. He lived beloved, and died lamented by his subjects, and his name has been transmitted with honour to succeeding generations.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

I have related, with the candour becoming a historian, the overstretch that Pope Innocent III. made of his power, in pretending to depose John king of England from his royal dignity, and to absolve the subjects of that monarch from their allegiance; as also the avarice and extortions of the legates of the Roman see. My readers will, I hope, excuse a short digression, to explain the causes and incidents that introduced these abuses.

The fathers of the first ages were all persuaded that, although the spiritual and temporal powers had sometimes been united in the same person before the coming of our Saviour, yet, from that time, the Almighty, knowing the weakness of mankind, had made those offices entirely separate and distinct: That, as sovereign princes are established by God to rule the state, and have no share in the priesthood of the new law, so also bishops are *placed by the Holy Ghost to rule the church of God*; but have received no power from Christ (in virtue of their order) over temporal things: So

that, in regard of temporal jurisdiction, they are entirely subject to princes, as in spirituals, princes are subject to the jurisdiction of bishops. These were the maxims of antiquity, and such were the avowed sentiments of Pope Nicholas in a letter to the emperor of Constantinople in the ninth century. But, after the dismemberment of the Roman empire, the bishops often became temporal lords, were admitted to a share of the government, and, confounding their temporal with their spiritual power, claimed the prerogative of judging kings, not only in the spiritual tribunal, but also in the councils of the state; and the kings were often so ignorant as not to dispute that unfounded claim.

The first example of that usurped power was, perhaps, in the twelfth council of Toledo, 681, where Vamba, king of the Visigoths, because he was visited with a bodily and mental malady, and had lost his memory, the archbishop clothed him with the monastic habit; and the degraded monarch, after coming somewhat to himself, imagined he was obliged to continue quietly in the humble station to which he had been reduced, and so renounced his kingdom and named his successor.

The second instance was the famous penance of *Louis le Debonnaire*, in the year 833, at *Compiegne*. Louis was, no doubt, a weak

prince, governed by his second queen, and the kingdom was in great disorder: But did those evils authorise that ecclesiastical assembly to declare, that, after the forced penance they had imposed upon the king, he could not resume the functions of royalty?

St Ambrose had put the Emperor Theodosius under penance, and had forbidden him entrance into the church, on account of a cruel massacre of his subjects at Thessalonica, in the year 390; but he drew no such consequence from the penance to which the emperor had submitted, as to pretend that that emperor had thereby, in any degree, forfeited his title to the imperial crown. For as the bishop believed the emperor subject to his spiritual censure, so he still believed and professed himself indispensably subject to the emperor's temporal jurisdiction.

The ceremony of consecrating kings, which was introduced about the middle of the eighth century, helped to afford some pretext for this power. As the bishop set the crown on the monarch's head, he thought himself, in certain circumstances, entitled to take it off again.

On the other hand, the secular powers broke through the rules of canonical election. Proprietors, without consulting the bishops, placed priests in churches within their lands; kings disposed of bishoprics without observing the

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necessary forms, and gave abbacies to simple laics. Gentlemen, sometimes, without any other formality than the concession of the prince, went and lodged in the monasteries, with their wives and children, their vassals, servants, horses, and dogs, consuming the greatest part of the income, and leaving the slender remainder to a few monks, whom they suffered to remain for form's sake, and who became more and more relaxed by the example of their new inmates.

The pontiffs, thinking they had as much, or greater, authority than the other bishops, in temporal jurisdictions, undertook to arbitrate the dissensions that arose between princes, not only by way of mediation and entreaty, but also by authority: and kings themselves contributed much to confirm the pontiffs in that erroneous notion, by acknowledging that superiority, and by having frequent recourse thereto for their private interests, and as the easiest mean of settling their disputes with neighbouring princes.

A collection of canons and spurious decretals, attributed to above sixty popes, from St Clement, the year 90, to Siricius 383, was a principal cause of the most virtuous pontiffs carrying their claims of deposing kings to a great height.

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This collection is supposed to be the work of one Isidore Mercator, a Spaniard, in the eighth century. It was published and propagated through the Western church by a great number of copies, and had a mischievous effect in changing many things in the ancient discipline of the church. Decretals are letters of the sovereign pontiff, in answer to the consultations of bishops or others, in doubtful cases, and are considered as having the force of a law in regard to *discipline*, when generally received. Those suppositious decretals which Isidore fathers upon the early popes, although they carry on their foreheads evident marks of forgery, yet, owing to the wars and disturbances of those times, even the best canonists did not possess sufficient learning and criticism to discover the imposture. The chief view of the author seems to have been the extension of the power of the bishops, and especially of the pope. Nor need we wonder that ambitious pontiffs availed themselves of what so well suited their purposes, and had gained universal credit. Nay, even the Popes Leo IX. and Gregory VII., with the best intentions of repairing the decay of the tenth age, and restoring to the church her ancient lustre, insisted on their temporal power, supported chiefly by those false decretals, of which then

nobody called in question the truth and authority.

An indirect deposing power, lodged in the pontiff, was agitated as a school question by many divines, and even by universities. Their principal argument was founded upon the power of excommunication: "No intercourse "ought to be had with an excommunicated "person. We ought not to receive him into "our house, nor to say to him *God speed thee*: "Therefore," say they, "an excommunicated "prince ought to be abandoned by every body. "It is not lawful to obey him, nor to receive "his orders,—he is excluded from the society "of Christians." But this was merely a scholastic question, and never held by any as an article of faith. Even Gregory himself, who was the first pope who exercised the deposing power against Henry IV. of Germany, 1076, never formally pronounced, in any council, nor by any decretal, that the pope has a right to depose kings. God did not permit any such decision, although Gregory supposed and acted upon that pretended right.

Such was the prevalence of public opinion at that time, that deposition necessarily followed excommunication, that Henry's friends defended his cause upon the principle that a sovereign could not be excommunicated. But it was easy for Gregory to shew, that the

power of binding and loosing was given to the Apostles, without excepting any one, and therefore comprehends princes as well as others. But the misfortune was, that other propositions were added, which have no such authority: such as, "*the church has a power of judging* "*spiritual things*; *therefore still more* (a for- "tiori) *she is empowered to judge temporal* "*things.*"

Many civilians and theologians, Protestants as well as Catholics, have maintained, "*that* "*obedience ought to be wholly passive*; *that* "*we are never to arraign the sovereign before* "*the subjects*; *that we must wait patiently until* "*Providence bring about a better order of things*: "*that we are never to lay hands on the Lord's* "*anointed, and that rebellion is always cri-* "*minal.*"

This political creed, however, seems now generally abandoned. A nation is not to submit to the unreasonable and oppressive will of a tyrant. But the difficulty lies here, who is to determine the nice and delicate point, when the obligation of obedience ceases, and the lawfulness of resistance begins?* When all the kingdoms of Europe were united in the same faith, and kings and subjects looked up to the sovereign pontiff as their common father, they left to his decision, when a king, by his ty-

* Dr Milner.

ranny and crimes, had forfeited his right to obedience.

The common tie of faith was broken by the reformers. They and their followers no longer paid any deference to the pontiff's decisions either in spirituals or temporals.

Catholic princes and people returned to the wise maxims of antiquity. A king may be excommunicated as well as a private person; but prudence and wisdom will seldom allow of the exercise of the power in regard of a sovereign. If the rare case should occur, the power belongs to the other bishops, as well as to the pontiff; and the effects will only be spiritual: that is, the excommunicated sovereign will be denied the participation of the sacraments and entrance into the church, or to join in prayer with the faithful; but his subjects will be obliged to obey him as before, in every thing that is not evidently against the law of God.

The exorbitant temporal power assumed by some pontiffs, and tamely submitted to by kings and people, although an usurpation, had, upon the whole, perhaps more good than bad effects. It composed many quarrels, and prevented wars. Princes had much to hope for, the maintenance of their power while they ruled wisely, and something to fear when they acted unjustly or tyrannically, from the high-

est character in Christendom: whereas now that the pope's power is reduced to its primitive and just spiritual channel, princes are more exposed to the folly and wickedness of popular and tumultuous assemblages.

The doctrine of the pope's temporal power has been long practically abjured. When Queen Elizabeth was excommunicated by Pope Pius V., not one of her Catholic subjects rebelled against, or disobeyed her, but maintained the same loyalty as before: nor does the pontiff seem to have wished or expected any thing else. Neither did he separate any one from Catholic communion for their adherence to their allegiance.

In our own country, a factious, rebellious, and inflammatory individual issued far more effectual bulls of deposition against the lawful sovereign than ever proceeded from the Vatican: but I pretend not to justify an usurpation of one high character against another, by a heightened act of boldness, treason, and contumely of the lowest character against the highest. Jesus Christ, in the establishment of his gospel did nothing by force, but all by mildness and persuasion. He sent his apostles like lambs amongst wolves. *The princes of the Gentiles, said he, seek to lord over their subjects, but you not so*; you are not to imitate them. *We are Christians for ourselves*, said St

Augustine to his flock, *We are bishops for you.*

The spiritual functions of the popes were greatly multiplied by consequences drawn from the false decretals, and he was obliged to delegate a share of his power to others. For it was impossible for him to go everywhere, or to bring the parties and witnesses of every case before himself: hence the frequency of legates from the eleventh century.

The legates were of two kinds: the first kind were bishops or abbots residing in the countries for which they received their commission: which commission was sometimes granted to particular persons; at other times it was considered as a prerogative of an archbishop's see, as, *v. g.* that of Canterbury. The second kind were cardinals sent immediately from Rome, and were called *legati a latere.* The legates resident in the country where they were to act, from the knowledge of the manners, customs, and language of the people, were better qualified to judge and give orders than strangers come from afar. Frequent complaints were made against those foreign legates. Neither France nor England would receive any but such as had been sought by their kings: and we have seen that they were, on different occasions, prohibited from entering Scotland. The bi-

shops also, took amiss, that strange prelates, or even cardinal priests, or deacons, should preside in their councils: but the pontiff had generally greater confidence in those whom he knew, and were of his own choice.

What, most of all, rendered those foreign legates odious, was, their pomp, luxury, and avarice. They travelled neither at their own expense nor that of the pontiff. They were accompanied with a retinue of, at least, twenty-five horses, and they caused themselves to be sumptuously entertained by the bishops and abbots on their way. The monasteries were often reduced to straits by the expenses they incurred on that account. Besides, the princes, to whose dominions they were sent, and often the parties whose causes they judged, were obliged to make them presents. Thus, the legations were mines of gold for the cardinals. St Bernard speaks with admiration of a disinterested legate.

By those legations, national and provincial councils or synods became more rare, and the authority of the metropolitans declined. These eagerly solicited the legantine powers, not considering the advantage of a lesser, but national and independent authority, over one that was borrowed and precarious.

Amidst those changes of discipline, and other trials to which the church was exposed

during those ages, the faith continued the same. Heresies were soon observed from their novelty. The church assembled in general councils, or even spread over the different nations of the world, unanimously condemned the erring novelties. The succession of bishops continued. Their names are found in the councils, in ecclesiastical histories, and other public monuments: We are authorised in supposing they taught the same doctrine, when we find them in communion with the bishops, and people of other churches, throughout the world. Though even a bishop were simoniacal, avaricious, debauched, or ignorant, provided he were not heretical or schismatical, the faith, and even the principal rules of discipline, would be preserved in his church. His guilt would be destructive to himself, and his example pernicious to some others; but the faith would remain entire.

Rome itself, the principal see, had to lament, in the tenth age, and even in the end of the fifteenth century, some pontiffs, whose personal vices were scandalous; yet the unworthiness of their persons hurt not the authority of the see. God did not permit the soundness of doctrine to be altered by their vices. Despicable as they were in themselves, they were still acknowledged by East and West as the head of the church. Archbishops still de-

manded from them the pallium, and Rome still continued the centre of Catholic unity. After all, where has the world seen a so long-continued succession of prelates or princes, wherein there were so many persons of eminent sanctity and learning, and so few vicious and bad characters amongst them?—But it is time to return to my history.

CHAPTER IX.

Alexander III. crowned—A Highland genealogist—Contending parties—Marriage of Alexander and Margaret—Alexander refuses to do homage to Henry for the kingdom of Scotland—Impeachment of Allan Durward—Complaints of the young queen—Visit of the king and queen of Scotland to the queen's parents at Werk castle—New counsellors or ministers appointed to Alexander—Excommunication of the faction in power—A coalition formed out of the two parties—Litigation between the Countess of Menteith, on the one part, and her sister, married to Walter Stewart, on the other—decision of the case—Dispute about filling the see of Glasgow—The queen delivered of a daughter—The queen's portion demanded—Haco, king of Norway, invades Scotland—embassy sent to Haco—Haco's haughty answer—Speech of Alexander to his army—Haco harangues his troops—Battle of Largs—Death of Haco—Birth of Prince Alexander—Peace and alliance with the Norwegians—Legate's demand refused—Clergy harassed—Legate refused entrance into Scotland—Exaction of the pope refused—Martha Countess of Carrick marries Robert de Brus—Death of the queen and her infant son—Subsidy for the Holy Land—Bagimont's roll—Marriage of Princess Margaret to Eric king of Norway—Marriage and death of Prince Alexander—Marriage and death of King Alexander III.—Character of Alexander—Thomas the Rhymer—Prodigies—Floods, storms, famine, accidents.

A. C. 1249.

Alexander III.

ALEXANDER II. was succeeded by his son Alexander, who being only in his eighth year, several of the nobles stated objections to his immediate coronation: some, from their pretended skill in astrology, alleged the present inauspicious aspect or configuration of the planets; others, because the young prince had not gone through the ceremony of knighthood.

But Walter Comyn earl of Menteith, appre- A. C. 1249.
hending dangers* in delay, and despising those superstitions and needless formalities, proceeded to Scone with the prince, accompanied by many of the nobles and two bishops, on the fifth day after the late king's death, viz. on Tuesday the 13th July. There Menteith suggested and obtained the consent of all present, that David, bishop of St Andrews, should perform both the ceremony of knighthood and that of coronation upon young Alexander, as Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, had already performed both these offices upon William Rufus king of England. The young monarch was immediately seated on the fated marble, and the bishop went through the forms of chivalrous and regal inauguration. The coronation oath was read in Latin and explained in French by the bishop. Immediately after the coronation, an old Highland gentleman stepped forth and recited from memory a complete genealogy (according to him) of all the Scottish kings, from the present monarch up to Gathelus the founder of the nation. The young king, at the suggesion of his tutors, dismissed the genealogist with handsome presents.

* One danger which Menteith dreaded was, that Henry had solicited a mandate from Pope Innocent IV., that Alexander, being his liegeman, should not be anointed or crowned without his permission; and also requested a grant of the tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues in Scotland, probably for an expedition to the Holy Land. Innocent peremptorily denied both requests,—the first as a derogation of the Scottish prince, and the second as unexampled.

A. C. 1250.

"*Woe to the state whose king is a child.*" That apothegm was too well verified in Scotland at this time. The ambition and outrages of the chieftains produced confiscations of the estates of nobles, vexations of the citizens, pillaging of the commons, oppressions of the poor, and sacrilegious violences of the churches. The counsellors of the young prince, appointed by his father, were removed, and others substituted in their place; but these counsellors were so many kings, who studied each his own interest more than the good of the kingdom.

Contending parties.

The power and wealth of the Comyns were, at that period, exorbitantly great. Besides earls, of whom there were many, no less than thirty-two knights bore that name. Their opponents were also numerous and mighty: Patrick earl of March, Malise earl of Strathern, Neil earl of Carrick, Robert de Brus, Alexander the Stewart of Scotland, Alan Durward, and many others.

It would seem that the clergy had sent their complaints to Rome. Lord Hailes has preserved to us a bull of Innocent IV., directed to the bishops of Lincoln, Worcester, and Litchfield, by which they are empowered to examine into those abuses, and to endeavour to remedy them by inflicting censures on the incorrigible. But that bull had either not

reached the English bishops, or produced no effect. A. C. 1251.

Another expedient was suggested by the clergy, in order to remedy the prevailing disorders: That was, to obtain the protection of the king of England, and to increase his ascendency in Scottish affairs, by the immediate marriage of the king of Scotland with Margaret princess of England, who had already been affianced to each other by their parents.

For this purpose an embassy was sent to the English court, which was the more welcome to Henry that he was determined to set out on an expedition to the Holy Land, and wished to secure the peace of his dominions during his absence.

To celebrate the nuptials, Alexander, with a numerous retinue of nobles and knights, went to York at Christmas.* He was received in that city by the king of England, accompanied by his queen and the royal bride, together with a numerous and splendid assembly of English grandees. Mary de Couci, the queen dowager of Scotland, hastened from France to attend her son's marriage, accompanied by many of the French *noblesse*. Lest the knighthood conferred by the bishop might be deemed insufficient, Alexander again received the ensigns of that order from the king

Marriage of Alexander and Margaret.

* Ford. x. 4.

A. C. 1251. of England on Christmas-day, and on St Stephen's day was married to the Princess Margaret. The succeeding holidays were spent with extraordinary joy and festivity.

Alexander refuses to do homage to Henry for the kingdom of Scotland.

Alexander did homage to his father-in-law for the lands he held of him in England. Henry* selfishly demanded homage for the kingdom of Scotland; but the young monarch had spirit enough to refuse the unreasonable demand, saying, "That he had been invited "to York to marry the princess of England, "and cement peace between the nations by a "new tie of affinity, and not to treat of so ar-"duous a question, which required the know-"ledge and approbation of his Parliament." Henry, unwilling to disturb the harmony of the marriage festival, did not then farther urge what was so disagreeable to Alexander and his counsellors.

The young queen, accompanying her husband to Scotland, had English attendants of both sexes, to take care of her person and education. Her portion was 5000 merks.

Alan Durward, (or Ostiarius, Justiciary of Scotland,) who had married a bastard sister of King Alexander, was accused, by the Earls of Menteith and Mar, of having endeavoured to procure the legitimacy of his wife the king's sister, that her offspring might succeed to the

* Mat. Paris, 534.

crown, in case Alexander should die childless. Robert, abbot of Dunfermline, then chancellor of the kingdom, was accused of intending to ratify that act of legitimacy by the great seal of the nation. The accused stole quietly home, and the abbot immediately surrendered the seals, thinking he had incurred the king's displeasure; and, moreover, having had some disagreement with his convent, to rid himself of all these embarassments, he put on the Cistertian habit in the abbey of Newbottle. The great seal was broken,—a new one made, and given to Gameline, thereby constituted chancellor, and afterwards elected bishop of St. Andrews.

A. C. 1251.

Impeachment of Allan Durward.

Henry was hindered from his intended crusade by troubles which arose in his French territories of Guienne. Allan Durward followed him thither, and so ingratiated himself with Henry that he became the accuser of his own accusers.

David of Bernham, bishop of St. Andrews, died. The canons chose Robert de Stuteville, deacon of Dunkeld, to fill that dignity. Abel, archdeacon of St Andrews, was offended, and appealed to the pope. King Alexander was also highly displeased at the canons, because they had neglected his recommendation of Gameline his chancellor. Abel was consecrated by Pope Innocent IV. and returned bishop of

1252.

A. C. 1255.

St Andrews, but died the following year. Gameline was then elected, more through fear of the king than by favour to himself.

Complaints of the young queen.

Complaints were transmitted to Henry against the party in power, both by the opposite party and by the young queen, who lamented that she was strictly confined to the castle of Edinburgh, a solitary and unwholesome place, was refused the attendants and maids she chose, and that she was excluded from intercourse with her husband.*

Henry espoused the cause of the faction opposed to the Comyns. He sent Richard de Clare earl of Gloucester, and John Maunsel his secretary, with letters of evidence, to take into his protection all who would adhere to him against those who had demeaned themselves ill against the king and queen. They carried an express protection to Patrick earl of March, and to the Earls of Strathern and Carrick, together with many other Scottish chieftains. The Earl of Gloucester and Maunsel unexpectedly entered Scotland with an armed force, and forming a junction with their adherents, Patrick earl of March, the versatile Allan Durward, &c., surprised the castle of Edinburgh, and got into their power the persons of the king and queen. To remove one complaint,

* For this the guardians had a reasonable defence from the tender age of the king and queen.

the royal couple were immediately put to the nuptial bed. Being apprehensive of an attack from the opposite party, they soon conveyed their prize under a strong guard to the castle of Roxburgh. A. C. 1255.

Visit of the king and queen to their parents of England.

Henry came with an armed force towards the frontiers; but as this armament tended to excite a suspicion, that his views might be inimical to Scotland, he emitted a declaration, when at Newcastle, disavowing all intentions of violating the liberties of the king or kingdom of Scotland. Similar assurances were included in the safe conduct of the king and queen to meet their royal parents, and that the former should not tarry in England but with the general approbation of the Scottish nobility.

Alexander, with his queen, escorted by Henry's two half-brothers, four English earls, and Maunsel the secretary, waited on the king and queen of England at Werk castle in Northumberland, and were kindly and joyfully received. Alexander returned the same day to Roxburgh, leaving his queen to attend her mother who was sick. Henry had an interview with Alexander next day at Roxburgh. Henry recommended the care of the king to the Earl of March and Dunbar, with his associates, and, after a royal entertainment, returned to Werk.

A. C. 1255. After much deliberation of the kings and their counsellors, many things (says Fordun) were agreed upon useful to Scotland, several things also very disagreeable to many of the Scottish nobility.

Gameline, chancellor of Scotland and bishop elect of St Andrews, William de Bondington bishop of Glasgow, Clement bishop of Dunblane, William Comyn earl of Menteith, Alexander Comyn earl of Buchan, William earl of Mar, John de Baliol, Robert Ros, John Comyn, William Wisheart archdeacon of St Andrews, and many more, were dismissed from the king's council, and deprived of their secular officcs.

New counsellors appointed to Alexander. Richard, bishop of Dunkeld, was appointed chancellor, David de Lindsey, secretary, and Allan Durward high justiciary, for the space of seven years. To these twelve others of the party were added.

A deed was put into Henry's hands, bearing that Alexander, at the request of his father-in-law, and by the advice of his prelates, nobles, and barons, had removed from his council, and their offices, his late counsellors and servants, as their deserts were said to require: And he binds himself not to restore them, until satisfaction be made by them to himself, and to the king of England, for offences they were, or might be, charged with.

The royal castles were to remain in the keeping of those to whom they were at present entrusted. Alexander also promises the most affectionate and honourable treatment of his queen. In confirmation of these articles, he caused Patrick earl of March to swear *upon the king's soul*, and subjected himself to the papal censures should he fail in their performance. A. C. 1255.

The bishop of Glasgow, and the bishop elect of St Andrews, were probably removed from the council on account of their opposition to the measures of the meeting.

The new counsellors met with a good deal of uneasiness from the resentment and power of the opposite party, whom they farther exasperated by exacting a rigorous account of their management of the royal revenues, while the power was in their hands.

John de Baliol and Robert de Ros, late regents, possessed estates in England. Henry held them, therefore, amenable to his courts, and accused them of disrespect and disloyalty to the king and queen of Scotland. John de Baliol, being rich, purchased his pardon. Robert de Ros not answering the summons, his lands and castle of Werk were seized.

Next summer, Alexander and his queen paid a visit to the king and queen of England at Woodstock, were received with affection, and entertained with magnificence. Henry renew-

A. C 1255. ed to Alexander the grant of the honour of Huntingdon; but Alexander seems not to have obtained possession of that county, as a formal demand made for its restitution, long afterwards, (A. D. 1270,) was refused by the king of England and his counsellors.*

Excommunication of the faction in power.

The reigning faction in Scotland provoked the bulk of the clergy, and brought upon themselves the displeasure of the pope, by their illegal demands, and violent injustice towards Gameline. That prelate had refused to purchase his bishopric from the regents; and, in contempt of their prohibition, was consecrated bishop of St Andrews, by the bishop of Glasgow. The regents plundered Gameline's possessions, seized the revenues of his see, and, as an outlaw, forced him to abandon the kingdom.

Gameline hastened to Rome, and laid his grievances before Pope Alexander IV. by whom they were favourably heard, notwithstanding the representations made by the messengers of the regents. He was declared not only innocent, but also most worthy of his bishopric. The pope gave powers to Clement bishop of Dumblane, with Matthew abbot of Melrose, to fulminate the censures of the church against Gameline's persecutors, who, not regarding the admonitions given

* Fordun, x. 28.

them, were at last excommunicated by name at Cambuskenneth.* A. C. 1257.

Mary de Couci, the queen-dowager of Scotland, had married John de Brienne, or *Jean d'Acre*, son to the king of Jerusalem. Henry permitted them to pass through his dominions to Scotland, under oath that they should attempt nothing to the prejudice of either king or kingdom, or of the council assigned by the king of England to Alexander and his queen.

William Comyn earl of Menteith, gladly laying hold of a favourable pretext, represented to his associates that the king was now in the hands of persons anathematized, and that the kingdom was in imminent danger of being laid under an interdict. They lost no time, but, by a bold assault, during the night, seized the king and queen at Kinross, and detained them in confinement until the opposite party were scattered. Allan Durward, with seeming zeal, fled to the king of England. The English who possessed offices in Scotland were glad to regain their country in safety.

Alexander led an army to the English borders to reduce the opposite party of nobles and barons. Henry, who had too much business in hand at that time, sent the Earls of Leicester and Richmond to mediate an agreement, if possible, between the Scottish contending parties. Conferences were according-

A coalition formed out of the two parties.

* Ch. Melrose.

A. C. 1257. ly held at Jedburgh between Alexander's ministers and the English commissioners for three weeks. A motely coalition of ten regents was formed out of the opposite parties, at the head of which were the queen-dowager and her husband; and, I may say, at the tail was the supple Allan the porter. Bishop Gameline, informed of the revolution in favour of his friends, had returned home, and was made one of the regents. Henry III. overlooking what he could not punish, accommodated himself to the present regimen of Scotland, and promised his counsel and aid to the regents so long as they managed the government according to religion and justice. Alexander dismissed his army, after the Gallovidians, who formed a part of it, had ravaged and laid waste the neighbouring country.

1258. About this juncture died Walter Comyn earl of Menteith, one the regents, and the most powerful of the Comyn party. His death was variously accounted for. Several of the Scottish nobles made suit to the widow, who was countess of Menteith in her own right; but she, disregarding their addresses, married John Russell, an obscure Englishman.* The nobles resenting the slight, openly accused her of the murder of her late husband by poison, as had already been rumoured. The coun-

* Fordun, xi. 11.

A. C. 1258.

Litigation between the Countess of Menteith on the one part, and her sister and husband, Walter Stewart, on the other.

tess, with her new husband, were incarcerated. Meantime Walter Stewart (distinguished by the epithet *Bailloch*, or freckled, which Fordun writes Bullock,) married the younger sister of the countess, and claimed, in right of his wife, the earldom of Menteith, and by favour of the nobles obtained it. The elder countess, defamed in reputation, and despoiled of her ample fortune, excepting some paltry sum allowed her, left Scotland with her hard-earned husband, in shame and confusion, and laid her grievances before Pope Urban IV. The pontiff, some years later, sent Pontius his legate to York with powers to investigate the cause and see justice done to the complainer. The legate summoned Walter, the bishops, abbots, and nobles of Scotland to give testimony. But Alexander considering it a breach of his ancient privilege, and contrary to the rights of his kingdom,* to answer a summons beyond the limits of the country, disallowed obedience to the legate's citation, and appealed to the pontiff.

This case became still more intricate. William, son of John Comyn, married the daughter of the elder countess of Menteith, and claimed, in his turn, the earldom in right of his wife, who was undoubtedly the lawful heir. John Comyn attempted to prosecute this claim

* Fordun, x. 14.

A. C. 1258. of his son before the papal legate at York, in 1273. The trial, however, seems not to have taken place, probably for the same reasons that hindered the process at the same place formerly.

Decision of the cause. The litigation seems to have ended in a Parliament held at Scone 1285. Walter Stewart Bailloch was allowed to retain the title with the half of the lands. The other half of the estates was erected into a barony in favour of William Comyn.*

Dispute about filling the see of Glasgow. By the death of William de Bondington,† the see of Glasgow became vacant. Nicolas Moffat, archdeacon of Teviotdale, by the king's favour, was postulated. The pope (Alex. IV.) nominated John de Cheyam. Alexander was displeased, but, by the mediation of his father-in-law, put De Cheyam in possession of the temporalities of the vacant see. As this bishop so installed could not be expected to enjoy the king's favour, so neither did he conciliate the love of his canons and clergy. Wherefore, finding his situation unpleasant, he retired beyond seas in the year 1267.‡ While he was taking leave of his clergy, one of them uttered in a voice sufficiently audible:

Hospes Colubri, non rediturus ahi!
Insidious guest, begone for aye!

Alexander and his queen visited the court

* Winton apud Lord Hailes.

† This prelate completed the mngnificent cathedral church of Glasgow, and liberally defrayed the greatest part of the expences himself.

‡ Fordun, x. 24.

of England. The king and queen of England prevailed with Alexander to leave his queen to lie in, under the care of her mother. The free return of the queen and her offspring, in case of her death the delivery of her offspring to her husband, or, if her husband should die, the redelivery of the same offspring to the prelates and nobles of Scotland, was promised by a solemn deed granted to Alexander. The persons mentioned in this deed were the bishops of St Andrew's, Aberdeen, Dunblane, and Galloway, Malcolm earl of Fife, Alexander Comyn earl of Buchan, Malise earl of Strathern, Patrick earl of Dunbar, William earl of Mar, John Comyn, Alexander the Stewart of Scotland. Allan Durward, and Hugh de Abernethy, *i. e.* the same coalition which was formed two years before. The queen of Scotland was delivered of a daughter called Margaret. A. C. 1260

The Queen delivered of a daughter Margaret.

Alexander sent the Stewart to demand payment of the arrears of the queen's portion. Kings are sometimes as straitened as meaner folks. Henry paid 500 merks, and promised the remainder in two instalments, namely, the following Michaelmas and Easter. The Queen's portion demanded.

In the year 1262 a great part of the crop was destroyed by a rainy harvest, which produced a distressing scarcity both in Scotland and England: and fame having spread the alarm of 1263.

A. C. 1263.

Acho king of Norway invades Scotland.

this famine beyond the reality, the ambitious Acho, king of Norway, wishing to turn this national calamity to his own profit, fitted out a great army and fleet to invade Scotland. He landed first in the Hebrides, which, since the reign of King Edgar, had been under the power of the Norwegians. From thence he proceeded to the isles of Arran and Bute, (which were the only islands then possessed by the Scotch';) and having reduced these under his command, he landed his army on the Scottish shore, and proceeded to the castle of Ayr, took that fortress, and laid waste its vicinity by fire and sword.*

The unwelcome news of this invasion threw Alexander into great consternation. Being unwilling to leave his subjects exposed to a merciless enemy, and yet finding his troops, in their present state, unequal to cope with a prince and army inured to war and flushed by recent victory, he deemed it best to gain a little respite, under colour of treaty and expostulation.

Embassy sent to Acho.

Having, therefore, selected persons of prudence and eloquence, he sent them on an embassy to Acho; who, when they came into the presence of the Norwegian king, thus addressed him: "Sire, Were it not an established

* I follow, in the account of this war, Bœthius, who is the most particular in its detail.—Lib. xiii. fol. 297, &c.

"rule of our nation, never to declare war with- A. C. 1263
"out manifesting our grievances, or investi-
"gating the causes of the attacks made upon
"us, thou shouldest, even now, behold an
"army instead of ambassadors. We are
"persuaded that war is always destructive
"even to the victorious, and that it were bet-
"ter to adjust real or supposed injuries by
"calm reasoning and mutual concessions, than
"by blood and slaughter. But if we perceive
"our enemies bent on war, we are ready to
"meet them with all the warlike ire that un-
"just provocation arouses. We are therefore
"sent by our king to demand of thee, by what
"right acquired, or by what injury offered to
"thee, thou hast broken the peace that had
"subsisted between the Scottish and Norwe-
"gian nations for more than a century, and
"hast invaded our islands and country,—hast
"laid all waste before thee by fire, pillage, and
"indiscriminating butchery, even of old men,
"women, and children, whom the most fero-
"cious tyrants are wont to spare; hast violat-
"ed the sanctuaries whither they fled for pro-
"tection; nay, hast even sacrilegiously pillag-
"ed and burnt the temples of the Deity. But
"if thou neither fearest God nor respectest his
"saints, who are the apple of his eye, learn,
"at least, to dread the joint force of two pow-
"erful monarchs, leagued in friendship and

A. C. 1263. "united by the closest affinity. Wherefore
"we advise thee to repair the wrongs thou
"hast done us, and leave our shores, whilst
"yet thou and thy army may return in safety,
"lest thou and they may then beg for mercy
"when it will be too late."

Acho's haughty answer.

To whom Acho replied in scorn: "We,
"doubtless, need your wisdom, legates, to
"teach us what is right and wrong! But do
"you think me such a fool as to change my
"purpose of carrying on war for your admo-
"nitions, or so arrant a coward as to tremble
"at your threats? With regard, however, to
"the islands, and injuries which you so much
"exaggerate, know that these islands, being
"part of the Hebrides, belong to our nation
"for several past generations. We come,
"therefore, to resume our own right; and we
"invade your country to indemnify our loss
"for your unjust detention of them. Bear,
"therefore, this my royal mandate to your
"master, (whose menaces I value not a pin,)
"that if he prefer peace to war, or if he wish
"to avoid the sack of his cities, the waste of
"his lands, and the slaughter of his subjects,
"let him send me immediately ten thousand
"merks of silver, and cede to us the quiet pos-
"session of all the Hebrides."

Alexander perceiving from this answer that war was unavoidable, mustered up all his

forces, that if he could not hope to overcome his enemies man to man, he might at least overpower them by numbers. Having, therefore, raised an army of 40,000 men, he led them into Cunningham, and marshalled them in three grand divisions. Alexander the steward, a gentleman renowned for his warlike prowess, the grandson of that Alexander Stewart who built and endowed the abbey of Paisley, had the command of the right wing; the left was assigned to the care of Patrick earl of Dunbar, no less eminent for valour and steady fidelity to his prince. The centre the king reserved for his own direction. It was composed of the firmest and most numerous bands, that from thence he might afford prompt assistance wherever it might be wanted. His own body guards were the pick and flower of the Scottish youth. Every regiment and company had its own selected officers, whose birth and bravery were well known by the men whom they commanded, and who were well acquainted with the language, manners, and genius of their soldiers. A. C. 1263.

In the morning of the 2d October, after divine service, the king* ordered his army to take a refreshment, to fit them for their ar- Speech of Alexander to his army.

* Fordun says, that Alexander Stewart of Dundonald commanded in this battle, and beat the Norwegians; but there is no reason to doubt that the king himself, a brave prince, in the vigour of life, was also present, as Boethius relates, who seems to have carefully collected the particulars.

A. C. 1263. duous conflict; and when the enemy was approaching, having drawn up his army in battle array, he put them in mind that their all was at stake,—that the consequence of defeat would be the destruction of their country, the sacrilegious pillage and ruin of all that was sacred to God and religion,—the dishonour of their wives and daughters,—the loss of liberty, and the ignominious slavery of themselves and children to cruel barbarians: that victory would punish the daring, avaricious, and wicked attempt of the merciless invaders, and secure to themselves glory and the quiet enjoyment of their religion, liberty, and property in their native soil, and in the bosom of their families: that their cause was noble and just, and heaven must needs be on their side: that not only he himself, but also their spouses, children, and all Scotland, would have, as it were, their eyes fixed on every soldier, to mark his deeds of valour, or his cowardice and remissness in the ensuing battle.

Acho harangues his troops.

Nor was Acho, or Haco, the Norwegian king, awanting to arouse the warlike ardour of his men: "Soldiers," said he, "had I not "been well assured of your bravery, I never "would have selected you for this bold enter-"prise,—I should have left you at home to "waste your days in drudgery and poverty; "but since you have followed me, in hopes of

"bettering your fortunes, behold the comple- A. C. 1263.
"tion of your wishes! Lo, a camp replete with
"riches and treasure! But you must, with
"sword and spear, hew your way to it through
"the enemy's lines. Nor is that all that vic-
"tory will procure you: I myself will divide
"Scotland among you,—you shall enjoy lands,
"estates, honours, and opulence: Fear not the
"number of your foes: What are they? fa-
"mished, starved skeletons, shadows rather
"than men: scarcely can they bear their ar-
"mour, much less will they bear the de-
"scending force of your right hands!—
"Neither can you hope for safety by flight.
"Behind, and on either hand, is the swelling
"ocean: Your ships are distant, and, ere you
"could reach them, the enemy's cavalry would
"tread you to the ground, and hew you in
"pieces. Such rewards of victory, and such
"danger in defeat, might inspire even cowards
"with valour. But, should fortune lowr up-
"on us, which, may the gods avert, and which
"your prowess, and former deeds, forbid me
"to apprehend, at least sell your lives at the
"dearest rate."

The signal for attack was given on both sides, and the shock was fierce and bloody. The battle raged in every quarter, but espe-cially in the centre, where the adverse kings observed every rank that was hardly pressed,

A. C. 1263. Battle of Largs.

brought up reinforcements, substituted fresh troops, admonished, encouraged, chid; and each dexterously acquitted himself of the office of a brave and skilful general. Alexander the steward pressed hard the enemy's left wing, which, upon the death of Haco's nephew, fell back: But Stewart allowed not his soldiers to pursue; but, keeping them in steady rank, fell upon Haco's rear, and made great havoc; so that the Norwegian centre, hewed down before and behind, were obliged to give way. The Scottish left wing was severely urged and cut down; and their general, Patrick Dunbar, being grievously wounded, his remaining troops were greatly disheartened; but, upon perceiving the discomfiture of Haco's centre, they resumed courage, and drove the enemy's right wing before them. The flight of the Norwegians then became general, and the carnage dreadful. The Scottish army pursued them throughout Cunningham with immense slaughter. Night put an end to the pursuit. Haco, with the wreck of his army, reached the castle of Ayr, which he had previously taken. Next morning brought him the news of another disaster. An impetuous tempest had assailed his fleet of one hundred and fifty sail, and had sunk or dashed them to pieces, four only excepted. The few sailors or others on board, who had endeavoured to swim ashore, were put to death by the inhabitants of the coun-

try. Haco, with the few soldiers left him, embarked in these four vessels, set sail, and arrived, with difficulty, in the Orkney isles. This battle was fought near a village called *Largs* in Ayrshire. Buchanan says, the Norwegians lost 16,000 men. Boethius makes their loss amount to 24,000, exclusive of those who were drowned in the shipwreck or were killed by the populace. The Scotch are said to have lost only 5,000. Their loss was probably much greater. A. C. 1263.

The spirit of Haco was not yet broken by his great defeat. Fordun observes*, that it was reported that Haco sent to Alexander letters, stamped with the seals of certain Scottish noblemen, importing an invitation to Haco to invade Scotland, and that they would join him against their king. But the historian supposes that, if such letters did appear, they were a forgery of the Norwegian nobles, after the death of Haco, and a stratagem to make Alexander punish his suspected nobles, that the Norwegians might more easily succeed in a future invasion.

Haco began to build a new fleet in Orkney, and gave orders to raise new troops in Norway: but his race was run. He died the December or January following. Boethius says, that, on the same day that Haco died, a son

Death of Haco, 21st January, 1264.

* Ford. x. 16.

A. C. 1264. Birth of a son, and heir of Scotland.

was born to King Alexander, by Margaret, his queen. The twofold subject of joy, viz. the death of an obstinate enemy, and the birth of an heir to the crown, diffused universal gladness throughout Scotland.

The isle of Mann having been seized and possessed by the Norwegians and Danes for more than a century and a half, Alexander assembled an army under the command of Stewart and John Comyn, to recover that island to the Scottish kingdom. When the army had arrived at Dumfries, they were met there by the petty prince of that island, who did homage to Alexander, and was allowed to retain his island, under condition of his furnishing to his lord paramount, whenever he had occasion for them, five gallies of twenty-four oars, and five of twelve oars each. In case the king of Mann were disturbed by the Norwegians, he, and his people were to have a secure refuge in Scotland.

Haco's successor was his son Magnus, a pious and pacific prince. He sent his chancellor Gilbert, bishop of Hamer, to King Alexander, then at Perth, to obtain a peace, on condition of his (Magnus') renouncing all claim to Arran and Bute, and of being allowed to retain the Hebrides. Alexander replied, that the Hebrides, by ancient right and possession, belonged to the Scottish kingdom, and

that he would never rest until he obliged the Norwegians to evacuate them entirely. Accordingly, Alexander immediately sent an army under able generals, who, having, with no small difficulty, put many Norwegian garrisons to the sword, the larger islands were subdued, and the lesser surrendered themselves to the Scottish arms. Magnus then sent anew his former ambassador, accompanied by several of his nobles, to the Scottish king, soliciting that, if the Norwegians could not be allowed to retain the Hebrides, on any conditions, they might at least receive a pecuniary compensation. A. C. 1264.

Peace and alliance with the Norwegians

The two kings came at length to an agreement, that Magnus should resign all claim to the Hebrides, and that Alexander should pay to the Norwegian government the sum of four thousand marks Sterling, within two years, and one hundred marks annually for ever after. Boethius adds, that, in order to strengthen this treaty, Hangonan or Eric, son of Magnus, who was yet in his cradle, was betrothed to Margaret, daughter of Alexander, being yet a child, and their nuptials were to be celebrated when they arrived at mature age. Finally, it was agreed that an hospital for the poor should be established on the field of Largs, at the common expence of the two nations. The patronage of the bishoprick of Sodor was re-

A. C. 1265. served, by this treaty, to the archbishop of Drontheim in Norway.

Henry, king of England, being at that time disturbed with rebellious insurrections, Alexander sent to his aid five thousand men, under the command of John Comyn, John de Baliol, and Robert de Brus, few of whom returned. Comyn and Brus were also taken prisoners at the battle of Lewes.

1266. Cardinal Ottobonus, papal legate, then residing at London, and striving, though in vain, to bring about an agreement between Henry and his nobles, exacted, in the meantime, six marks from each cathedral church in Scotland, and four marks from every parish church, to bear the charges of his legation.* Alexander, after communing with his clergy, forbade payment of the demand, and appealed to Rome. The clergy gave him two thousand marks to defray the expences of the appeal.

The legate's demands refused.

Alexander, now apprehensive of no danger, lolled in the lap of ease, slackened the reins of military discipline,† and, lending too much ear to unprincipled men and enemies of the public tranquillity, permitted his soldiers, and some profligate flatterers and court harpies, to harrass, insult, and even rob the clergy. During this misunderstanding, the clergy, deprived of the support of the king, were glad to appease

Injustice to the Clergy.

* Fordun, x. 21. † Fordun, x. 23.

Ottobonus by paying a part of the exacted contribution. Meantime Sir John Dunmore, a military officer in the king's service, for some glaring offences committed against the prior and convent of St Andrews, was excommunicated by Gameline, bishop of that see. The king, by threats of banishment, or seizing his revenues, wished to compel the bishop to absolve Dunmore without satisfaction. But Gameline, conscious that forgiveness requires penitence, confirmed the censure, extending it to all Dunmore's adherents, (the royal family excepted,) and caused the excommunication to be published throughout the kingdom. Some persons of weight and piety interposed their good offices. Dunmore, ashamed at his own conduct, asked forgiveness, made satisfaction, and was absolved. A. C. 1266.

Ottobonus demanded allowance to enter Scotland. The king having consulted his clergy, with whom he was now perfectly reconciled, absolutely refused the legate admittance. **Legate refused entrance into Scotland.**

The legate thus disappointed, summoned the Scottish bishops to assist at a council in England, at whatever place he should think proper to appoint. He also enjoined the Scottish clergy to send two abbots or priors as their representatives. The bishops of Dunkeld and 1268.

A. C. 1268. Dunblane, with the abbot of Dunfermline and the prior of Lindores, were sent, not as members of the council, but to observe its proceedings, and to protest against any thing prejudicial to the liberties of the church of Scotland. Several statutes were erected regarding both the secular and regular clergy of Scotland, to all which obedience was peremptorily refused.*

The same year Pope Clement IV. wrote to the Scottish clergy, exacting the tenth of their income to be paid to the king of England, as an aid for an intended crusade. The king and clergy unanimously refused the requisition. They intended, they said, to send an armament of crusaders themselves, such as Scotland could afford. Accordingly a thousand soldiers were sent to join Lewis king of France in that cause, under the command of the Earls of Athole and Carrick. The Earl of Athole died before Tunis; the Earl of Carrick in Palestine. All their soldiers perished, either in the field of battle or by pestilence and the unwholesome climate. Alexander is said to have sent the pontiff 1000 marks of silver.†

Exaction of the Pope refused.

1269.

Henry, king of England, in consequence of the pontiff's recommendation, attempted yet to levy the tenths in Scotland.‡ The Scottish clergy refused the demand, and appealed to Rome.

* Ford. x. 24. † Boece. ‡ Fordun, x 26.

Prince Edward of England had followed King Louis to Tunis, in the year 1270. That excellent monarch had breathed his last near that city, two months before the arrival of Edward. Prince Edward, after many heroic exploits against the Saracens, returned to Sicily, where he learnt the news of his father's death, Henry III., who died at Edmondsbury in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the fifty-sixth of his reign. Though that monarch had much disturbance in his own kingdom by quarrels and wars with his subjects, Scotland had little reason to complain of him. A. C. 1269. 1272.

Martha, the daughter of the Earl of Carrick, and his sole heiress, and countess in her own right, while amusing herself in hunting, as was usual for ladies in that age, fell in with Robert de Brus, Lord of Annandale, and son of Isabella, the daughter of David earl of Huntingdon; and being captivated by the handsome person of the youthful nobleman, invited and pressed him to go with her to her castle of Turnbery. A few days after, the juvenile couple got themselves speedily married, lest obstacles to their union might have arisen. King Alexander, highly displeased that Martha, his ward, should have thus hastily and inconsiderately surrendered herself to a youth at first sight, without counsel of her friends, and, especially, without his leave and consent,

Martha countess of Carrick marries Robert de Bruce,

A. C. 1274. confiscated her estates in the first motions of his displeasure; but by the interposal of friends, and payment of a fine, restored her honours and estates, and was reconciled to the match. The first fruit of that marriage was a son, Robert Bruce, the restorer of the Scottish monarchy, and king of Scotland.

Edward's brothers came to Scotland to visit their sister, and both Alexander and his queen accompanied them in their return to London, to assist at Edward's coronation. Alexander, however, took care to have it acknowledged, that he only assisted at that ceremony from courtesy, not from obligation.*

Amongst the many amusements which decorated that august solemnity, were frequent chivalrous single combats. There was in Edward's court a Norman of Herculean strength, and so expert a cavalier that he overcame all who encountered him, and was thereby accounted the hero of the day. But Farquhar, a Ross-shire man, who had come to London in Alexander's suite, challenged, encountered, and defeated this champion, to the great joy of Alexander and his attendants. Alexander, as a reward for his valour, created the victor Earl of Ross, which honour continued in his family for five generations, when it fell for want of issue.

* Boethius.

A. C. 1275.

Alexander with his queen returned to Scotland. The queen bore a son named David. She died the 26th February following in the castle of Cupar, and was buried at Dunfermline beside king David. Her infant son David did not long survive her.

Death of the queen and her infant son.

By the death of the queen of Scotland, a strong bond of friendship was broken between the kings of England and Scotland. A contention arose about their marches. Upon a complaint from the bishop of Durham, Edward sent a letter to Alexander, admonishing him not to stretch his march beyond the ancient line. Alexander sent two of his prelates, an earl and a baron, to refute the charge, and to request that Edward, as a brother and a friend, would not give credit to any person who sought to disturb him in the rights and possessions which he and his ancestors had long enjoyed; and to propose that the matter in question should be referred to men of experience and probity, mutually chosen, who should decide according to ancient laws and customs.

Subsidy for the Holy Land.

Bajamondus, otherwise Benemundus or Bagimont, was sent by the Pontiff Gregory X., or his successor Innocent V., to collect the tenths of all ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland, as a subsidy for the Holy Land, as had been resolved in the second general council of Lyons

A. C. 1275. Bagimont's roll.

in 1274. This tax was levied not according to the usual mode, but strictly upon oath, and under penalty of excommunication. The Cistertian order compounded with his Holiness for the round sum of 50,000 marks throughout Europe, and thereby their revenues remained unknown. The valuation upon which this tax was collected in Scottish history is called *Bagimont's roll.*

1278. It was probably in consequence of the dispute about the marches, that Alexander (about Michaelmas, in the English parliament at Westminster) swore fealty to Edward in general terms, which fealty Edward accepted, saving his claim of homage for the kingdom of Scotland. Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, with the approbation of Edward, swore fealty *upon the soul of his master* for the services due for lands and tenements which Alexander held of the king of England.

Marriage of the Princess Margaret to Eric king of Norway.

Alexander now solicitous for the succession to the crown, married his daughter Margaret, in her twenty-first year, to Hangonan or Eric, the young king of Norway, who was only in the fourteenth year of his age, and who had lately succeeded to his father Magnus. The princess was accompanied to Norway by a splendid retinue. Several of the prelates and barons, who had escorted her thither, perished

* Bocce, xiii. B. 13. and Fordun, x. 37.

at sea in their return. In the twentieth month from her leaving Scotland, Margaret queen of Norway died, having brought forth a daughter, who survived her, was named Margaret, and afterwards known by the appellation of the *Maiden of Norway*. A. C. 1281.

Marriage and death of Prince Alexander. 1282.

Alexander, prince of Scotland, the year after his sister's marriage, espoused Margaret, daughter of Guy earl of Flanders. The nuptials were celebrated with great solemnity immediately after the feast of St Martin at Roxburgh: But short-lived was the joy; the prince died on the 28th January following, before he had completed his twentieth year, and there was no issue from his marriage. These immature and calamitous deaths threw the king and all Scotland into the deepest gloom. Already the sorrowful augury began of events which too truly came to pass.

1284.

To settle the succession, the king, with the estates, held a parliament at Scone on the 5th February following. There the nobles bound themselves, by a written obligation, to acknowledge Margaret princess of Norway as their lawful sovereign, failing any children whom Alexander might yet have, and failing the issue of the prince (because the parliament were not yet sure but the widow might be pregnant.) For the enforcement of this obligation, the nobles subjected themselves and

A. C. 1284

their heirs to the censures of the bishops of their own country.

Marriage and death of Alexander III.

Alexander being still of an age that inspired hope of strengthening his almost extinguished race, and being advised, by his prelates and nobles, to enter again into the married state, the lady he made choice of was Ioleta, daughter of the Count de Dreux. The match being agreed on, Alexander sent over to France his chancellor, Thomas Charteris, Patrick de Graham, William de St Clair, and John de Soulis, who conducted the beautiful bride, (together with a splendid retinue, of both sexes, of her own country,) safely to Jedburgh, which was considered then as one of the most delightful spots in Scotland, by its fine scenery. There

1285. the wedding took place on St Calixtus' day, 14th October, and was solemnized with great pomp and variety of amusements. But sorrow and disappointment soon followed; for, on the

1286. 19th of March following, the king being delayed at Queensferry until day-light was gone, and the night being dark, he was advised by his attendants to lodge at Inverkeithing, but he pushed on with all speed to Kinghorn. When he was near that town, his horse stumbled in the sand. He was thrown, probably, over a precipice. His neck was dislocated by the fall, and no seasonable help being given by his attendants he expired in the forty-fifth

year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign. He was interred at Dunfermline with the solemnity, piety, and mourning that became the funeral of a Christian prince and a beloved king. A. C. 1286.

Character of Alexander III.

Fordun, and other historians, delineate the character of this king in glowing colours. They say that, during the whole of his reign, the church of Christ flourished, and its ministers were held in due respect. Vice was checked, deceit fled, and oppression ceased; virtue acquired strength, truth and justice reigned. The king's person was princely. He was tall and well proportioned, plump but not corpulent; his countenance was cheerful, engaging, and majestic. He was of easy access; affable in his conversation; mild in his demeanour; temperate in his meals and habits; heroically patient and longsuffering. His judgment was solid, and his mind devout. He was endowed with great prudence and sagacity; wise in his purposes, and firm in the execution of his resolutions. He was inflexibly just, and solicitous for the due administration of justice throughout his realm, to promote which (according to the custom then prevailing) he made an annual progress through the kingdom, escorted by the sheriff and militia of each county as he passed, and held itinerant courts in every shire. His few contests with his cler-

A. C. 1286. gy were owing to ill advice, and were speedily and amicably composed. He steadily supported the independence of his kingdom, and the liberties and privileges of the church of Scotland against all encroachments. His recovery of the Hebrides and the isle of Mann was a bold and politic achievement. His peace with Norway was equitable and friendly. To the English monarchs he behaved with a friendship that became so near a relation; and with the English in general he maintained the candour and equity of a good neighbour, and was both loved and feared by them. He encouraged industry among his people, and hated sloth, as the mother of mischief, the stepdame of virtue, the nurse of pride, the nest where conspiracies were hatched, and the ruin both of individuals and of the kingdom in general. He discouraged among his prelates and nobles,* sumptuosity of retinue, especially of horses and other animals for pleasure, which, he said, consumed what ought to feed the poor. He considered himself as possessing the regal authority only that he might be the instrument of good to his people, whom he loved with the affection of a fa-

* Lord Hailes observes, that, though Alexander could not reform a rude and licentious age, yet his temperance and purity of manners left it no excuse from the evil example of the sovereign. I willingly allow and rejoice, that the present age surpasses the thirteenth century in refinement, and external civility of manners,—that it is less licentious either in principle or practice, I strongly doubt.

ther, and was justly beloved, remembered, and his loss regretted by them. Finally, he was the more worthy, and better fitted to command others, that he had acquired the rule of his own passions, and recommended by example what he enjoined by precept. A. C. 1286.

Fordun and Boece tell us, that the Earl of March, on the day previous to the king's death, asked Thomas Lermont or Lermonth, commonly called Thomas the Rhymer, whether any thing momentous should happen to-morrow? Thomas answered, *that next day, ere noon, a storm should ensue which would shake all Scotland.* The earl invited the prophet to dine with him on the morrow; and Thomas having arrived early, his Lordship began to joke the monk, saying, he thought he should prove a false prophet, as the day was calm, the sky serene, and no appearance of storm. Thomas observed, it was not yet mid-day. Just before noon, a courier arrived with the doleful tidings of the king's death: which event, Thomas said, was the tempest he meant. Thomas Learmont's Prophecy.

Bishop Spotiswood says of Thomas Lermont's prophecies, "That they may justly be "admired, having foretold, so many ages be-"fore, the union of the kingdoms of Scotland "and England in the ninth degree of Bruce's "blood, with the succession of Bruce himself "to the crown, being yet a child,—and diverse

A. C. 1286. "other particulars, which the event hath made "good. Whence, or how he had this know-"ledge, can hardly be affirmed; but sure it is, "that he did divine and answer truly of many "things to come."—*Book* ii. *p.* 47.

Prodigies. Boece mentions,* that, in the second year of the thirteenth century, there were daily shocks of earthquakes felt in Scotland, from the Epiphany (6th January) to the first of February.

The same author says,† that in the year in which King William died, 1214, two terrifying comets appeared, the one preceding the sun, the other following that luminary.

Floods. In the year 1266, a vehement wind blew from the north: The sea overspread the country between the Tay and the Tweed, sweeping along with it trees, houses, and villages.

Tempests. Fordun says, there never was such a tempest and deluge since the days of Noah.

Accidents. In the year 1270, the cathedral and chapter-house of Elgin was burnt. In 1272 there was a scarcity of provisions; and on the Saturday within the octave of the Epiphany a tremendous storm, with pouring hail, threw down many buildings; and, as it happened about midnight, many people were crushed to death in their beds. The awful lightning that accompanied this storm set on fire the magnificent church of Aberbrothick, and melted its

* Lib. xiii. fol. 287. † Ibid, fol. 289.

bells. Similar destruction and conflagrations, at or about this time, took place in Aberdeen, Perth, Lanerk, in Angus and Lothian. A. C. 1286.

In this reign flourished Michael Scot of Balwirie, a learned physician and dextrous alchymist, famous for his researches of the philosopher's stone.

CHAPTER X.

Margaret, Maid of Norway—Regency—Disagreement—Congress at Salisbury—Meeting at Brigham—treaty of marriage—Articles of Contract—Death of the Maid of Norway—Claimants of the Scottish crown—Edward claims feudal superiority over Scotland—Process for determining the true heir of the throne, from Buchanan—Case unfairly stated by Edward—A more detailed account—Edward openly asserts his superiority—a delay granted—Baliol declared king—swears fealty to Edward—Macduff's appeal—Baliol affronted—renounces allegiance to Edward—English fleet scattered—Berwick besieged—taken—Scotch defeated at Dunbar—Baliol deposed—Scottish barons do homage to Edward—The brave Wallace rises in support of his country's freedom—is deserted by the barons at Irvine—numbers flock to his standard—he gains the battle of Stirling—Death of Sir Andrew Moray—Incursion into England—Edward invades Scotland—Mutiny in the English camp—The Scottish chiefs contend—The battle of Stirling is lost—Conference between Bruce and Wallace—Wallace retires—Council of regency—Stirling castle surrenders to the patriots—The protection of the Pope solicited—The English refuse the Pope's temporal authority—Victory of the patriots—another invasion—Stirling castle surrendered to the English—records destroyed—Wallace betrayed and executed—Comyn betrays Bruce—Bruce escapes—assassinates Comyn—Edward meditates vengeance.—Synopsis of the Thirteenth Age.

A. C. 1286.

Margaret, Maid of Norway.

MARGARET, Princess of Norway, the granddaughter of Alexander, had been acknowledged heir to the crown of Scotland; but she was a child, and far distant, and no regent had been appointed by Alexander in case his heir should be a minor at his death. Disorderly and outrageous persons, from the hopes of impunity, committed audacious acts of guilt and oppressions of the people.

To remedy these disorders and daring atrocities, to rule the state and administer justice,

a vast concourse of the nobility assembled at Scone, 11th April 1286, unanimously appointed a regency of six guardians, viz. William Fraser bishop of St Andrew's, Duncan earl of Fife, and Alexander earl of Buchan, to preside over the territories lying to the northward of the river Forth: Robert Wisheart bishop of Glasgow, John Comyn of Badenoch, and James the steward of Scotland, to govern the southern districts.* A. C. 1286. Regency.

Two years afterwards, Duncan the earl of Fife was murdered by Sir Patrick Abernethy and Sir Walter Piercy, at the instigation of Sir William Abernethy, and not long after the Earl of Buchan died.† The guardians, therefore, were reduced to four. These disagreed among themselves: James the steward separated himself from his colleagues, formed other associations, and even took up arms, under pretence of defending himself and his people. Every thing seemed tending to anarchy. Disagreement.

It would appear, from Fordun, that already many of the Scottish nobles were desirous of setting aside Margaret of Norway, since, in the very parliament of Scone, 1286, there was a sharp dispute between the parties of Baliol and Bruce about the preferable right of suc-

* Fordun, xi. 11.

† Sir Andrew Moray pursued the murderers: Piercy and William Abernethy were taken; the former was executed, the latter was imprisoned for life in Douglas castle. Patrick Abernethy escaped to France, where he died.

‡ Fordun, xi. 2, 3.

A. C. 1239. cession; and from that assembly legates were sent to Edward, then in France, soliciting his counsel and patronage.

Eric, king of Norway, solicitous to secure the rights of his daughter, sent plenipotentiaries to treat with Edward king of England concerning that momentous affair.

Eric hoped, that the near relation of Edward to the infant queen would induce him to protect her from danger amidst the factions and dissensions of her subjects, and that his power would put her in possession of her crown.

Soon after Edward's return to England, at his instance, three of the four guardians, (viz. the bishops of St Andrew's and Glasgow, John Comyn,) and Robert Bruce lord of Annandale, were empowered to treat with the Norwegian ambassadors concerning certain matters proposed to Edward; but *with a salvo, conceived in the strongest terms, of the liberty and honour of the kingdom of Scotland.* Edward appointed the bishops of Winchester and Durham, and the Earls of Pembroke and Warrene, to assist at this congress, which was held at Salisbury.

Congress at Salisbury.

The Norwegians engaged to convey Margaret, free of all matrimonial engagements, to England or Scotland, before the feast of All Saints next year. The English promised, that if the queen of Scotland came free into the custody of Edward, he would deliver her as free to the Scottish nation, provided that good

order and tranquillity were previously established in that kingdom; and on this farther condition, that the Scottish people should give security to Edward not to bestow Margaret in marriage without his advice and consent. A. C. 1289.

The Scottish commissioners promised the fulfilment of these conditions; and, moreover, agreed to remove any guardians or public officers who might be deemed dangerous or offensive to the queen or her friends in Norway, and to replace them with Scotchmen of the best character, chosen by the states of Scotland and Norway. In case of any dissension in the choice, the arbitration was to be referred to commissioners appointed by the king of England. Finally, it was agreed that a meeting of the estates of Scotland, and of the deputies of the king of England, nominated at the request of the Scottish and Norwegian commissioners, should be held in the middle of the ensuing Lent to ratify the premises.

Though no mention is made in the conven- 1290.
tion of Salisbury of a match between young Edward of Caernarvon and the queen of Scotland, there can be little doubt of the Scottish commissioners being sounded upon that head. It is certain that immediately after that meeting, and very probably previous to it, Edward king of England had obtained a dispensation from the pope (Nicholas IV.) for the marriage of his son Prince Edward with Margaret

A. C. 1290.

queen of Scotland, his grand-niece. To facilitate this dispensation, Edward is said to have paid up six years of arrears of the annual tribute due by his kingdom to the Roman see.

Meeting at Brigham. Treaty of marriage between young Edward and the Maid of Norway.

Pursuant to the last article of the convention of Salisbury, a numerous meeting of the community of Scotland assembled on the 17th March at Brigham, a village on the north side of the Tweed. Whether Edward made any direct overture to this assembly concerning the said marriage, or whether from private applications, or the public rumour of the dispensation, the meeting made the first open proposal to Edward, is of little importance. Both parties, it seems, were desirous of that union. The members of this assembly concurred in a letter to the English king, declaring their approbation of the match, upon condition of Edward's giving them security for certain matters relating to the state of their country, which their delegates should lay before him at his parliament of next Easter at London.

At same time, from the hasty impulse of a seeming good, they wrote to the king of Norway, informing him of their consent to the proposed marriage, and pressing him to send over his daughter to England, at the latest before the feast of All Saints, agreeable to the convention of Salisbury.

Eric seemed rather unwilling to part with

his child. The Scotch grew more and more impatient of delay; but Edward, who was no less eager for the arrival of the young queen, had facilitated her embarkment by the ministry of English *angels* among the Norwegian counsellors; and, therefore, to soothe the impatience of the Scotch, without much risk to himself, became bound in a penalty of 3000 merks (£.2000) to be paid to the Scottish guardians, that Margaret, before the first of November, should be landed in Britain, unless hindered by some lawful or insurmountable impediment. A. C. 1290.

Articles of contract between Prince Edward and Margaret queen of Scotland.

A treaty was concluded between the commissioners of England, and the guardians, clergy, earls, barons, and whole community of Scotland, at Brigham, on the 18th July 1290, the substance of which was as follows:

"Margaret, princess of Norway and queen
"of Scotland, shall be delivered in marriage to
"Edward prince of England, on these condi-
"tions, viz.

"That the rights, laws, liberties, and cus-
"toms of Scotland, in matters civil and ec-
"clesiastical, as a distinct kingdom, shall re-
"main for ever inviolate throughout the whole
"realm.

"That the kingdom of Scotland shall re-
"main separate and divided, and free in itself
"from all subjection to the kingdom of Eng-

A. C. 1290. "land, according to its right marches, as in "times past."

To each of these articles was added, the fatal, artful, and deceitful *salvo*, on which was reared the pretended claim of England's feudal sovereignty over Scotland; namely,

"Saving always to the king of England, "and to all others, the rights belonging to "them in the marches, or elsewhere, before the "date of this treaty, or which ought in future "to belong to him or them.

"That if no issue should ensue from this "marriage, or if such issue should die before "mature age, the kingdom of Scotland shall "return to the nearest heirs to whom it ought "to return, wholly, freely, absolutely, and "without any subjection. So that nothing "shall hereby either *accrue* or *decrease* to the "king of England, to his heirs, or to any one "else.

"Immediately upon the marriage, Marga- "ret shall be secured in a jointure suitable to "her rank.

"The chapters of churches having right of "election shall not be obliged to go out of "Scotland for *congé d'elire*, or leave to elect, "nor for presenting persons elected, &c.

"No crown vassals shall be compelled to go "forth of Scotland for the purpose of per- "forming homage or fealty.

A. C. 1290.

"No native of Scotland shall, in any case, "whether of covenant made or crime com-"mitted, be compelled to answer out of the "kingdom, contrary to the laws and usages of "Scotland.

"The heirs of the nobility becoming wards "of the crown, shall not be disparaged in mar-"riage.

"No parliament shall be held without the "boundaries of Scotland, as to matters respec-"ting the kingdom.

"No tollage, aids, levies of men, or other "exactions shall be demanded from Scotland, "or imposed on its inhabitants, unless for pro-"moting the common interests of the realm, "or in cases where the kings of Scotland have "wont to demand the same."*

These, and all other articles of the treaty, were to be ratified by the signature and oath of the king of England before the 8th of September; otherwise, to be accounted void.

Edward took care to ratify them within the time limited.

Edward immediately, by an overstretch of power, for which the treaty of Brigham gave him no authority, appointed Anthony Beck, bishop of Durham, to officiate as Lieutenant of Scotland, in the name of Queen Margaret

* The above extract of the treaty of Brigham is taken from Lord Hailes' Annals.

A. C. 1290. and the Prince of England; yet, as he pretended, *in concert with the guardians, and by the advice of the prelates and nobles of the realm.* His pretext for this assumed superintendence was, *that by his oath*, in ratifying the treaty, *he became bound to maintain the laws of Scotland.*

The guardians and estates of Scotland appointed three plenipotentiaries to confer with the king of England; yet still with a salvo, in the strongest terms, for the rights and liberties of the realm. They obtained an audience at Northampton. The king demanded that all the places of strength in Scotland should be instantly yielded up to him, under pretence of some dangers he had reason to apprehend. The delegates refused to comply with this demand. They offered, on the queen's arrival in Britain, to deliver their castles and fortresses into the hands of her and her husband.

The Scottish plenipotentiaries made report to the bishop of St Andrews and certain nobles assembled at Perth. Deputies were sent to Norway to conduct Margaret to Britain. She, with a suite of Norwegians, embarked, sickened at sea, landed in Orkney, (which then belonged to Norway,) languished, and died about the end of September 1290. The bubble burst! The fair scheme of alliance vanished into air. But Edward did not relinquish his

Death of the Maid of Norway

darling purpose of extending his dominion over the whole island. A.C. 1290.

William Fraser, bishop of St Andrews, seems to have been totally devoted to Edward's interest and views. Even before Margaret's death was certainly known, he sent intelligence to the king of England of strong apprehensions of a civil war; and intreated that monarch, if the queen should die, to draw nigh to the marches, for the consolation of the people of Scotland, and to prevent the effusion of blood, that the faithful might be enabled to preserve their oath inviolate, and give the kingdom to whom it of right belonged: *Provided always that he would enter into the views* of the English monarch. Such petitions would be graciously received by Edward.

The correspondence which had taken place during the late negociations about the marriage, had greatly encouraged Edward to push his favourite claim of sovereignty and direct dominion over Scotland.

The death of the Maiden of Norway, and the extinction of all the descendants of the late king, plunged Scotland in the deepest gloom, and most lively apprehensions of a civil war. A warm controversy instantly arose among competitors for the crown. 1291.

Robert Bruce, lord of Cleveland, Annandale, and Garrioch, unexpectedly appeared at

A. C. 1291. Perth with a formidable retinue. He did not yet openly avow his motives for this armament. The Earls of Mar and Athol convened their retainers. Parties already began to form.

Claimants of the Scottish crown.

Amidst many pretenders, it was easy to perceive that the descendants of Earl David of Huntingdon, brother of King William the Lion, and grand-uncle to the late king, had the fairest claim, as nearest of blood to the last monarch; but, in the supposition that the kingdom was impartible, it was difficult to decide between John Baliol, lord of Galloway, and the said Robert Bruce. The former was the great grandson of Earl David by his eldest daughter Margaret, and his grand-daughter Dervorguil or Dornagilla; the latter was the grandson of Earl David by his second daughter Isabella. John Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny, was great-grandson of said Earl David, by his youngest daughter Ada; and, in the supposition of the kingdom being partible, was entitled to a third share thereof in right of his grandmother.

It is generally understood, that the Scottish nation, or at least many of the nobility and prelates, perceiving that the question of the right of succession was no less intricate than important, and justly dreading that no judgment pronounced in any court of Scotland

would set the business at rest, but that the disappointed party, or parties, would endeavour to substantiate by force what had been invalidated by law; many, I say, of the nobles, to avoid the horrors of a civil war, are supposed to have tendered to King Edward the arbitration of this momentous cause; but whether the determination was offered or not offered him, it is quite clear that he claimed it in quality of Superior Lord of Scotland. A. C. 1291.

Edward unjustly claims superiority over Scotland.

How groundless that claim was, I have already shewn in the preceding pages, and may again illustrate in few words. It is well known that the Scottish kings possessed much of the north of England long before the Norman conquest, or the establishment of the feudal system. When that tenure was introduced, the kings of Scotland did homage to the English kings for these lands, in the same manner as the kings of England swore fealty to the kings of France, acknowledging them as their lords paramount for the extensive territories which they held in that kingdom, and binding themselves to perform all the services which a feudal sovereign has a title to exact, yet without hurting the imperial independence of England. The same was the condition of the Scottish monarchs, free and independent sovereigns of their own country, vassals or

A. C. 1291. feudatories of the king of England for what they possessed in England.

It is true, as we have already related, William the Lion was unfortunately taken prisoner by the army of Henry II., who extorted from him, as the price of his liberty, not only a high ransom, and the surrender of the strongest castles in Scotland, but also compelled him to *do homage* for his whole kingdom. It is also true, that Henry's son, Richard I., (no less generous than his father was interested and ambitious,) wishing to conciliate the friendship of Scotland before he set out for the Holy Land, solemnly renounced the claim of homage which his father had imposed on William.

It seems proper to lay before my readers the relation of the process and decision of the important plea of succession to the Scottish crown, concisely stated by Buchanan, which is nearly the same as that given by Fordun. To which I shall subjoin an abstract of the most authentic account of this business, collected from contemporary English historians.

Process for deciding who was true heir to the Scottish crown, from Buchannan.

"Edward, upon his arrival at Berwick, (Fordun says Norham,) summoned, by letters, the guardians, nobles, and prelates of Scotland, protesting that he called them not as subjects before their prince, but as friends, who had chosen him as arbiter of their cause.

He first of all required of the competitors and all concerned, an oath that they would abide by his decision; and that the different orders should subscribe and seal a bond, obliging themselves to obey the person whom he should nominate as their lawful king. He then selected, or caused to be selected, twelve commissioners of the greatest discernment and legal knowledge, from Scotland, to whom he adjoined a similar number of Englishmen of similar qualities. All these he swore in as a jury, to examine justly and truly the comparative rights of the competitors, and to report the result of their deliberation to him as umpire. A. C. 1291.

"All this wore a fair and plausible appearance; but Edward's deep and secret policy was, to bring Scotland under his subjection. It was already evident that Scotland was divided into two factions. Edward knew and adopted the maxim *divide et impera*,—divide and rule. Therefore, the better to hide, and the more expeditiously to promote his views, he stirred up a great number of other competitors, that he might, by their ambitious servility, strengthen his own power.

"That nothing might seem precipitate or rash, and that the whole process might wear an appearance of just and mature consideration, he caused the best civilians in France to be consulted, shrewdly deeming, that from the

A. C 1291.

various opinions which would likely be given, he might, with greater colour of justice, adopt what might best serve his own purpose. As the claims of all the competitors, Baliol and Bruce excepted, seemed untenable, he stated the case to the French jurists in the following subtle manner :—

Case unfairly stated by Edward to the jurists.

" A certain king (not usually inaugurated " by crowning or anointing, but by being " placed upon a certain seat, and proclaimed " king; not an absolute or independent king, " but the acknowledged feudatory of another " monarch,) died leaving no children. Two " kinsmen, the descendants of Sempronius, " grand-uncle to the deceased king, claim the " inheritance, namely, Titius, the great-grand- " son of Sempronius by his eldest daughter, " and Sejus, the grandson of Sempronius by " his second daughter. Which of the two has " the preferable right to obtain an indivisible " inheritance ?"*

To the question so stated, the greater part answered†, " If there be any law or establish- " ed custom of the kingdom in question, the

* Rex quidam nec coronari, nec inungi solitus; sed in sede quadam a suis collocari ac rex denunciari, (neque tamen ita libere rex ut non in clientela sit regis alterius, cujus se beneficiarum fateatur) sine liberis decessit. Duo propinqui, e Sempronio magno regis defuncti patruo, prognati, hereditatem petunt, Titius, videlicet, ex majore Sempronii filia pronepos. Sejus ex minore filia Nepos. Uter in hereditate impartibili adeunda preferendus ?—*Buchan.* Lib. viii.

† Si qua lex aut consuetudo, ea de re, in regno quod petitur, esset ei standum sin minus, verum esse, consuetudinem sequi ejus, in cujus clientela sunt.—Ibidem.

" parties ought to abide by it; but if otherwise, A. C. 1291.
" the custom of the superior kingdom, or the
" sentence of the lord paramount, must de-
" cide."

The business by these consultations became still more perplexed. Next year a meeting was held at Norham, where Edward, by fit persons, sounded the minds of the Scottish barons, whether they would acknowledge him as their liege lord, as, it was alleged, their ancestors had often done to the English kings; which (says Buchanan) they expressly refused to do. Edward, however, prevailed upon the competitors, whom he himself had stirred up, by hopes of success or promises of great rewards, to swear fealty to him as their feudal superior. He then transferred the commissioners to Berwick, to proceed in their investigation, shutting them up in a church in close conclave.

Whilst the business proceeded slowly, Edward, and he only, went in and out, consulting with one or other. Understanding that Baliol seemed to have the ascendancy in point of right, but was inferior in favour and faction, Edward first called Bruce, and asked if he would better his chance by acknowledging him as lord paramount, which Bruce is said to have peremptorily refused: saying, " he was
" not so fond of being a king, as thereby to

A. C. 1291. "enslave his country." Edward then called Baliol, to whom he made the same proposal. Baliol readily consented, and sentence was pronounced in his favour.*

A more detailed and different account.

But the English historians afford us a more authentic and accurate detail of the interested policy of Edward, and of the shameful acquiescence of the Scottish nobility, during the progress and settlement of this momentous litigation.

The death of Edward's beloved queen Eleanor, at Grantham, in the end of November 1290, occasioned a delay of his journey northward until the following spring. Arriving at Darlington about the middle of April, he summoned or desired the nobility and clergy of Scotland to meet him at Norham, on the 10th of May.† He also summoned fifty-seven of his military tenants of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, (among whom were John de Baliol and Robert de Brus,) to attend him at Norham six weeks after Easter, with all the forces required by the conditions of their tenures.

The nobility and clergy of Scotland attended at Norham on the day assigned them. There Edward commanded Roger de Brabazon, justiciary of England, to inform the assembly, in his name, that, considering and

* Buchanan, Lib. viii. 135. † Rymer, Tom. ii. p. 523.

commiserating the difficulties in which the Scottish nation was involved by the death of Alexander and the extinction of his offspring, and the great dangers arising from a disputed succession, he had, (from good will and affection to every individual of a kingdom, *in defence of which he himself was interested,*) undertaken a long journey, and was come, in quality of Superior Lord of Scotland, to maintain tranquillity therein, and to do impartial justice to those who laid claim to the crown: that he wished to avail himself of their knowledge and advice; and that, as a preliminary, he required a hearty recognition of his being their direct superior and lord paramount. A. C. 1291. Edward openly avows his title of Feudal Lord.

Astonishment and confusion held them for some time motionless and silent. At length, one bolder than the rest replied, that, concerning this claim of feudal supremacy, no answer could be made while the throne was vacant. "By holy Edward, whose crown I wear," (answered the English monarch with stern impatience,) "I will vindicate my just rights, or perish in the attempt."

The Scottish nobles and clergy begged a respite, that they might inform, and consult with, those who were absent.* A delay was granted until to-morrow,—that delay, through grace, was prolonged for three weeks, at which pe- A delay of threeweeks granted.

* Rymer, Vol. III. 419.

A. C. 1291. riod he demanded a precise answer. Edward knew that, by that time, he would be joined by his armed barons. In what manner the candidates, nobles, and clergy were employed during this interval of twenty days does not distinctly appear. Mutual jealousy and discord, together with Edward's influence, marred any general consent for maintaining the rights and freedom of their country.

Edward, with a powerful army, was ready to enter Scotland. None of the competitors could hope for success without gratifying the king of England in what he sought.* A crown, though dependant, was to each a temptation too great to be resisted: They had sufficient proofs of Scottish independence to produce, if they had had courage or power to support them. The pretended evidences produced by Edward were garbled or distorted passages of writings and chronicles void of solid proof. On the 2d of June, Edward gave audience to eight competitors, several of the prelates, nobles, and community of Scotland, on a green plain called Holywell-haugh, near the town of Upsetlington, opposite Norham castle, on the Scottish side of the Tweed. Robert Burnel, bishop of Bath and chancellor of England, demanded, in the name of the king of England, if the people of Scotland had any documents to shew

* Hem. i. 53.

tending to invalidate Edward's superiority over Scotland. No documents being offered, the chancellor required that each of the competitors there present should recognise that sovereignty, and make an absolute submission of their alleged right to the Scottish crown to Edward's decision. Then turning to Robert Bruce, he demanded of him, in presence of all the assembly of both nations, whether he acknowledged Edward as Lord Paramount of Scotland, and whether he asked judgment from him as such. Bruce expressly, definitively, publicly, and openly declared his assent.* John Baliol, who was not present that day, on the following appeared, and to a similar interrogation, after a mysterious pause, gave a full consent.† The chancellor then protested in the king's name, 'That though his present view, "in asserting his right of superiority, was to "give judgment to the competitors, yet he "by no means relinquished his right of pro-"perty in the kingdom of Scotland, when it "might be fit and convenient to lay claim "thereto.'‡

A. C. 1263.

Though all parties had hitherto proceeded upon the belief that the crown was heritable by females, Edward, by this insidious *salvo* and *protest*, intimated that the kingdom of Scotland was a male fief, and, in default of

* Foed. ii. 545. † Ibid. 549. ‡ Ibid. ii. 551.

A. C. 1291. heirs-male, had reverted to himself as Lord Paramount, and was claimable at pleasure.

The king recapitulated, professed affection, promised speedy and impartial judgment.* Baliol renewed his profession of fealty, and craved

June 3. judgment. The whole ten competitors submitted to the yoke of Edward, and to his award by a sealed instrument.

It was agreed by the assembly, that Baliol and Comyn, and those who concurred with them, should name forty commissioners: that Bruce for himself,† and the competitors who approved of his list, should choose other forty: that Edward should add twenty-four less or more. These were to examine the cause, and

June 4. report to Edward.

The following day, the king obtained from the competitors a grant of seisin of the lands and castles in Scotland, that he might be able to deliver them to whom he should adjudge the crown;‡ Edward giving security for restitution within two months after the decision. The regents surrendered the kingdom: The keepers gave up the castles.§ Gilbert d' Umfraville, earl of Angus, alone refused to yield up the castles of Dundee and Forfar, until Edward and all the competitors should execute a deed to indemnify him for delivering the castles which he had received in trust from the Scottish nation. The fidelity of a brave

* Foed ii. 551. † Ibid, ii. 556. ‡ Ibid. ii. 529. § Ibid. ii. 531.

and honest man carries authority along with it. The condition was complied with. A. C. 1291.

Edward restored the custody of the kingdom to the regents, joining in commission with them Brian Fitzallan. The peace of Edward, as Lord Paramount, was proclaimed. The assembly adjourned to the 2d of August, to be held at Berwick.

In the interval, Edward diligently pursued his great object. He received at Berwick oaths of fealty from Philip de Ryedale, mayor of that town, and from the burgesses and inhabitants, as also from several Scotchmen, who came to him thither. He made a progress to Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth, and did in like manner. The guardians were commissioned to receive the fealties of others, and to compel the refractory.*

The assembly met at Berwick on the 2d August. Aug. 2. On the 3d, Edward, in presence of several prelates and nobles of both kingdoms, assembled in the chapel of the castle, issued a *caveat*,† that his condescension to do justice to the competitors on this occasion, within Scotland, should not hinder him or his heirs to do what belonged to him or them, on other emergencies, within the kingdom of England.‡

Then the Scottish commissioners were commanded by the king to assemble in the de-

* Foed. ii. 573. † Ibid. 574. ‡ Prynne.

A. C. 1291. serted church of the Dominicans, adjacent to the castle, and that the claims of Baliol and Bruce should first be heard.* Although the claims of the other competitors were reserved, this preliminary judgment did, in effect, determine that the crown must belong to the descendants of David earl of Huntingdon. The claims of all the rest were evidently frivolous, as their predecessors, though of the royal blood, were either illegitimate, or, if legitimate, were more remote from the lately extinguished royal line than those of Bruce, Baliol, and Hastings.

The petitions and arguments of Bruce and Baliol having been heard by the delegates, these unanimously reported to the king, that, in this arduous and unexampled case, they could not advise him; that a fuller deliberation was necessary, and requested the aid of the English commissioners.† The farther hearing of this great affair was adjourned until the 2d June the following year.

1292. June 2. The commissioners of the two nations had a conference. Those of England reported to Edward, that as there was a diversity of opinions among the Scottish commissioners, and that as they themselves were too few in number, *and not of the wisest*, they would not presume to give their judgment without hearing that

* Foed. ii, 574. † Ibid. ii. 580.

of prelates, nobles, and other *wise men* of England. A parliament was appointed to meet at Berwick on the 14th October ensuing. A. C. 1292.

On the 14th or 15th of October, the king and parliament, with the auditors and competitors, assembled at Berwick.

The claims of Bruce and Baliol were again discussed at length before the commissioners, who made report to the king.* Edward put the question, "Whether the remoter, by one "degree, in succession, issuing from an elder "sister, ought, according to the laws and cus-"toms of the two kingdoms, to exclude the "nearer in degree, issuing from a younger "sister?" To which question an unanimous final answer was given, "That in the circum-"stances stated, the descendant of the elder "sister ought to be preferred."

On the 6th November, it was declared that Bruce's petition ought to be dismissed. The king could not proceed to give judgment in favour of Baliol until the petitions of the other claimants were heard.† John Hastings claimed a third of the kingdom, which ought to be divided (he said) among the heirs of the three sisters. Bruce, non-suited in his former claim, adopted the arguments of Hastings, to prove the kingdom partible.

Answer was unanimously given, that the

* Foed. ii. 586. † Ibid. ii. 587.

A. C. 1292. kingdom was impartible; and that neither its escheats nor casualties were partible.

On the 17th November the last meeting was held in the hall of the castle, where the petitioners were called, and withdrew their claims: and it was adjudged that John Baliol should recover and have *seisin* of the kingdom, with every thing belonging thereto which, by reason of the sovereignty of the king of England, had fallen into his hands; *saving the king of England and his heirs, when they chose to insist upon it.*

Baliol declared king.

Baliol was charged to govern his people with justice. At the same time, the great seal, used by the regents since the death of Alexander, was broken, and its fragments, put into a leather bag, were deposited in the treasury of England, as a monument of England's direct dominion over Scotland.

Baliol swore fealty to Edward at Norham, 20th November. Thus, six years and nine months after the death of Alexander, the Scottish nation, desirous of peace and tranquillity, crowned John Baliol at Scone; and all, except Bruce, swore allegiance to him. Baliol himself, according to agreement, returned to Newcastle, and did homage to Edward: The nobles who accompanied him, influenced by fear or by hope, did the same thing. Still many of the Scottish nobility were highly displeased at this disgrace of their country;

but, conscious of their weakness, they concealed their resentment, until they might shew it to more effect. That occasion was not long wanting. Duncan earl of Fife, one of the six governors of the kingdom during the *interregnum*, had been killed, as before related, by the Abernethys, (a family at that time very opulent and powerful,) who had, moreover, cited of the deceased earl's uncle before a convention the states, in regard of some landed property which they claimed, and which the new king had decided in their favour.* A. C. 1293.

Appeal to Edward.

Macduff thinking himself highly aggrieved by Baliol, both because he had been remiss in avenging his nephew's murder, and been partial to the Abernethys in the late decision, appealed from the sentence to Edward, as their common liege-lord. When the cause came before the convention of the states in England, Baliol was seated by Edward; and, when called on, he wished to answer by his counsel or procurator, but was told he must de-

* The truth seems to be, Malcolm earl of Fife had two sons, Colban and Macduff. Malcolm put his son Macduff in possession of the lands of *Reres* and *Crey*. Malcolm died in 1266. Colban his son died in 1270. Duncan, son of Colban, was murdered in 1288. Duncan, the son of the murdered earl, and grand-nephew of Macduff, was a minor. The bishop of St Andrews, guardian of the earldom, had dispossessed Macduff.—Macduff complained to Edward, who ordered the regents to try the cause. These restored Macduff to the possession. In Baliol's first parliament Macduff was cited for having taken possession of said lands, which were alleged to be in the custody of the king since the death of the murdered earl. Macduff pleaded his father's grant, but, on account of some informality, was nonsuited. He then appealed again to Edward, and got redress, as related.

A. C. 1293. scend and make his defence in person, which he considered as a grievous affront. Moreover, the sentence he had given against Macduff was reversed, and he was found liable in damages and costs to the appellant. Baliol, as soon as possible, returned to Scotland, raging and indignant at the disgrace he had sustained, and revolving in his mind how he might revenge the insult, and reconcile himself with his subjects. By the mildness of his temper, and gentle administration, he won the popular favour and attachment to his person; and an opportunity soon offered itself of mortifying Edward.

He summoned an assembly of the states; and, as a new quarrel had arisen between the kings of France and England, ambassadors from both courts appeared in this assembly. Those of France to solicit a renewal of the ancient alliance with Scotland, and those of Ed-

1296. ward to demand the service of his vassal. Both parties having preferred their claims, the council, exasperated against Edward, and hating his yoke, decreed that the suit of the French was just and admissible, that of the English was unjust, vexatious, and groundless, as the late submission of the king, made without con-

Renounces allegiance to Edward.

sulting the states, and in direct opposition to their will, was null and nugatory. It was resolved to send an embassy to France to renew

the former league, and solicit the niece of Philip in marriage to Edward Baliol, the son of the Scottish king; and to send an envoy to the king of England, with an express renunciation of his vassalage, and of his friendship. The embassy to France was successful; but the message to England was so ungracious and hazardous, that a monk or abbot of Arbroath alone consented to deliver it, and was glad to escape with contumelious language and personal safety. A. C. 1296.

Edward having made a truce of some months with France, determined, during that interval, to reduce Scotland to obedience, and sent the fleet which he had fitted out against France, to prevent the garrison of Berwick from being supplied with provisions for a siege; but this fleet, in entering the mouth of the river, was attacked by the Scottish warriors, who burnt eighteen sail, and the rest were glad to sheer off. Edward, exasperated rather than intimidated by this disappointment, prepared to march against Scotland with a great army. He cited Baliol before his court at Newcastle; but neither he, nor any one for him, answering the summons, he called Bruce, and promised him the kingdom of Scotland if he would exert himself in expelling Baliol, which he might effect without much labour or expence, as he had only to write to his friends, either imme-

English fleet scattered.

A. C. 1296. diately to desert Baliol, or to draw off their vassals in the field of battle.

March 20. Berwick besieged. He then advanced by forced marches to Berwick, and having laid close siege to it for some time without effect, he by stratagem drew off his forces, as if he despaired of success. He then sent certain Scotchmen, followers of Bruce, to announce to the garrison that their Lord King John was approaching with his army to their succour; and having provided banners and colours similar to those borne by the Scottish nobles, every soldier wearing a St Andrew's cross, they again marched towards the town. The garrison being deceived, opened the gates to welcome as they supposed their king, but discovered their mistake too late. The English rushed in, took the town, and slaughtered man, woman, and child, to the number of at least seven thousand persons, among whom were the flower of Lothian nobility.

Berwick taken.

April 27. Edward next proceeded with his army to Dunbar, where he was met by Baliol, and a battle ensued; in which (by the treachery of Bruce who, on the faith of Edward's promise, already related, prevailed upon his friends to desert the combat in the beginning, and thereby disheartened the rest of the Scottish army,) victory declared for the English. Many of the Scottish nobles took refuge in the castle

Scotch defeated.

of Dunbar, which soon after surrendered to Edward, and the whole garrison was put to the sword. When Bruce afterwards claimed from Edward the fulfilment of his promise, namely, the Scottish crown, as he had implemented his part of the bargain, he received the answer he deserved—*Have I nothing to do but to conquer kingdoms for you*? A. C. 1296.

The other castles easily submitted. Edward proceeded from Edinburgh to Stirling, from Stirling to Forfar and Montrose, where the unfortunate Baliol, by the subtle advice of John Comyn of Strathbogie, threw himself upon Edward's mercy, and surrendered his kingdom, which he was ill fitted to defend. He, together with his son Edward, was sent by sea to London, where he was detained prisoner for three years, after which, upon the Pope's becoming surety that he would never more intermeddle with the affairs of Scotland, and leaving his son as hostage, he was permitted to retire to Normandy, and live upon his patrimonial estates.

Baliol deposed.

Edward having assembled the Scottish lords and barons at Berwick, he caused them to swear fealty to him, except William Douglas, a man of high birth and renown, who, positively refusing to do him homage, was cast into prison, liberated, and again imprisoned in York castle. After these successes, Edward

Scottish Barons, &c. do homage to Edward.

A. C. 1296. left Warrenne, earl of Surrey, his lieutenant or guardian of Scotland, and Cressingham his procurator, and departed for the continent, to recover Guienne.

The Scottish nation now enjoying some respite, chose twelve governors, one of whom, John Comyn, with a considerable force, made an inroad upon Northumberland and Cumberland, which having plundered for some time, and vainly attempted the siege of Carlisle, they returned home with their booty, the English remaining quietly within their fortified castles.

Such barbarous and turbulent incursions might serve to animate the warlike spirit of these tumultuous bands, and supply their present wants by the plunder which they amassed, but gave little advancement to the cause of freedom. The Scottish nobles were sunk in apathy; faction and jealousy had divided their counsels. Many were of foreign extraction, and could not be supposed to have the same zeal for the honour and freedom of Scotland as its ancient inhabitants: many possessed considerable property in England, which they were naturally inclined to preserve. These circumstances, and the artful policy of Edward to turn them to his advantage, had contributed more to the subduing of Scotland, and to keep it under subjection, than the strength of English armies.

A. C. 1296.

The magnanimous heroism of one young gentleman, who was not influenced by any of the foresaid considerations, served much to arouse the slumbering patriotism and valour of the Scottish nation; that young hero was William Wallace. He was the son of a gentleman of ancient family, who possessed the small estate of Ellerslee near Paisley. His gigantic stature pointed him out as a leader: and the uncommon strength of his manly form was yet surpassed by the vigour of his dauntless and unconquerable mind. His countenance gained favour, and his ingenuous and dignified manners both won the heart and inspired awe and respect. He was possessed of a graceful and ready eloquence: he had studied the art of war under his father, who had been a military officer, and by such tuition and frequent exercise had acquired considerable martial dexterity. A deep sorrow for the depressed state of his country, the death and sufferings of his friends, a youthful love of glory, and, above all, a flaming patriotism, which no variety of fortune, or even death with all its tortures, could extinguish, made him eagerly wish for an occasion of displaying his gallant prowess in the service of his country. An unfortunate affair opened his military career. A petulant young English officer offered Wallace some proud insult. An affray ensu-

William Wallace.

A. C. 1296. ed, in which the Englishman was killed. Had Wallace fallen, his friends might have mourned his death, but, at that time, they could not have prosecuted his antagonist: but Wallace was obliged to seek his safety in woods and mountains. By being exposed to the inclemency of the skies, and subject to great privations, his body became inured to bear the greatest fatigue; and the dangers to which he was hourly exposed, accustomed him to brave every peril. At length, weary of this wandering and forlorn life, he determined to attempt some enterprise for the relief of his country, however hazardous. Having collected a body of daring young men, he atchieved many deeds of valour, which have been recorded by the exuberant fancy and homely rhymes of *Blind Harry*, and which I pass by. His followers, however, speedily increased in number and in rank, so as to excite the hopes of his countrymen and the alarm of the English. Amongst others, he was joined by Sir William Douglas, surnamed the Hardy, who had been thrown into prison for refusing to swear fealty to Edward. In a skirmish at Lanark, William Hislop, the sheriff, an Englishman, was
1297. slain. In May 1297, an attempt was made to seize Ormesby, the English justiciary, while he held his court at Scone. The judge escaped by precipitate flight, but left his treasures and

the neighbouring territory to Wallace and his party. The fame and the followers of Wallace daily increased. He admitted the name of Regent for King John Baliol, not stimulated by ambition, but from compassion and love of his country. He laid siege to, and reduced the castles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, Montrose: the garrisons were put to the sword. He surprised Dunottar, and garrisoned it with his own men. Advancing to Aberdeen, he found it in flames, plundered by the enemy, and almost void of inhabitants. The rumour of an English army advancing hindered him from attempting the citadel, which was strong and well provided. He hastened to meet the English army ere they passed the Forth, and to choose his own ground. A. C. 1297.

Two English armies were formed, one on the eastern coast, the other on the west, the latter commanded by Henry Lord Percy and Sir Robert Clifford. Wallace's army had been joined by Bishop Wisheart of Glasgow, Sir Alexander Lindsay, Sir Andrew Moray, Sir Richard Lundy, the steward of Scotland, and the younger Bruce; and they had assembled near Irvine, on the right bank of the river.

When the English came up, the Scottish army was advantageously posted on a rising ground, but consisted of a heterogenous mass, ill accoutred, ill armed, and impatient of mi- Wallace deserted by the Barons at Irvine.

A. C. 1297. litary subordination. Amidst this discord and confusion, the associates of Wallace began to waver between patriotism and servitude. Sir Richard Lundy, with his friends and followers, openly deserted, and went over to the enemy. Their example was soon followed by Bruce, the Steward, Lindsay, and even Douglas. These made their peace with Edward's generals: The Scottish party was broken, and the English triumphed in the south and west of Scotland.

New followers flock to join Wallace.

Wallace, steady in his purpose, took no part in those negociations of his fickle associates, and scornfully refused to accede to their treaty. He retired beyond the Forth and Clyde. Fame proclaimed him the only faithful defender of the liberty of his country. Those by whom he had been forsaken, were execrated as its cowardly betrayers: even the vassals of the barons who had reconciled themselves with Edward, together with new followers from every quarter, flocked to his standard. He led them to besiege the castle of Dundee, others say that of Cupar.

Warrenne, Cressingham, and the other English leaders, prepared to pursue Wallace, and advanced with their army towards Stirling. Wallace, abandoning the siege, hastened to guard the defile between the Ochil hills and the Grampian mountains; and, while the Eng-

lish army came on to cross the Forth, by the bridge at Stirling, they suddenly beheld the army of Wallace posted on a rising ground, near the abbey of Cambuskenneth, and ready to oppose their passage. Warrenne again essayed the arts of negociation, by which the Scottish army had been dispersed at Irvine; but Wallace had the pleasure to see the present companions of his enterprize, (the most eminent of whom was Sir Andrew Moray of Bothwell,) more steady than the wavering barons. To two friars, sent by Warrenne, to offer fair conditions of peace, the only answer of Wallace and his followers was, "Go, tell "your masters, we came not here to treat, but "to fight and set Scotland free. Let them "advance, we bid them defiance."

A. C. 1297

Wallace refuses to negociate.

The Scottish patriots occupying the entrance of a defile between mountains, on a rising ground, having in front a river, which could not be readily passed but by a narrow wooden bridge, possessed advantages of posture which more than compensated their inferiority in numbers, discipline, and martial equipment.

Sir Richard Lundy, now the adherent of Warrenne, offered to conduct the whole, or a part of the English army, up the bank of the river to a ford, by which they might pass in a body, and with little danger, to avoid the

Wallace gains a victory near Stirling.

A. C. 1297. hazard of passing by the bridge in a single file, or, at most, two a-breast; but he was a Scotchman, and was not to be trusted: and I readily allow that, from his former vacillation, there was room for suspicion. The English, therefore, ventured to pass by the bridge. Wallace, at a distance, watched their movements, and, as soon as he saw about five thousand horse and foot on the left bank of the river, ordered his men to pour down from
Sept. 13. the heights and annihilate their foes. Warenne, unable to send assistance, remained on the right bank, the idle spectator of the massacre of his men. The bridge was broken down, and almost all who had passed fell by the sword or perished in the river. Cressingham was among the first who fell, and the furious patriots wrecked their unbridled rage by mangling his lifeless corpse, or, according to other accounts, flead off his skin.

The English burnt their tents, abandoned their baggage, and hastened back to Berwick. The Scotch achieved this victory without any considerable loss except that of Sir Andrew
Death of Sir Andrew Moray. Moray of Bothwell, the most faithful companion of Wallace's heroic enterprizes.

Fame soon spread the discomfiture and flight of the English army. All the partizans of freedom took arms and hastened to swell the army of Wallace. Castle after castle fell,

and the garrisons were massacred, made prisoners, or driven away in precipitate flight. Wallace, by the plausive consent of his followers, still bore the title of Regent, or Guardian of Scotland, professing allegiance to the exiled Baliol. A. C. 1297.

But now these gallant patriots saw their country afflicted, and themselves in danger of perishing, by a famine, the necessary consequence of wasting war. To supply their wants out of the spoil of their enemies, and to retaliate the miseries inflicted on themselves, they with one accord determined to invade England. Berwick was quickly retaken, and almost all the military force that Scotland could muster poured, furious and unresisted, into the northern counties of England, where they remained for three months, like a host of locusts, consuming every thing which could serve for sustenance to man or beast. The most daring and barbarous acts of outrage were committed, which even their leader strove in vain to prevent.

Inroad into England.

After desolating the places where they had wintered, Wallace led back his forces to Scotland laden with booty. 1298.

Edward, during these successes of the patriots, had been in France, endeavouring to recover his transmarine possessions. He was called home by the cries of his English subjects

Edward invades Scotland.

A C. 1298. to protect them against the inroads of the Scotch. He sent orders to Warrenne, who lay with a powerful army at Berwick, to wait his arrival. He landed at Sandwich, met his parliament at York, and repaired to Roxburgh, where he found himself at the head of eight thousand horse, and eighty thousand foot, principally Irish and Welsh. While this main army was assembling or advancing on its march, a separate detachment, which the Earl of Pembroke had conducted by sea to the coast of Fife, was there defeated by Wallace. But the celebrity which Wallace had now gained excited jealousy and envy in the minds of the nobles, which made the tide of his good fortune ebb faster than it had flowed upon him. Comyn and Bruce, especially, were indignant that a person of obscurer birth should gain a renown which seemed to pave the way to the throne. "If we must needs serve," said they, "better to serve a brave and mighty "monarch, than be the subjects of an upstart." They therefore determined to undermine the power and popularity of the only hero who had supported the declining honour and ruined freedom of his country.

Edward pushed on with his army. The castle of Dirleton alone offered a vigorous resistance to his progress through the south-east counties. It at length surrendered to Beck

bishop of Durham. Want of provisions in a desolated country checked Edward's course; disease followed, and, lastly, mutiny between the English and Welsh soldiers. The Welsh are said to have massacred many of the English, amongst others eighteen ecclesiastics. The English retaliated by a greater slaughter, and the Welsh withdrew in anger from obedience to the king's orders, and from the common camp, and Edward was obliged to command a retreat. A few ships laden with supplies anchored in the Frith of Forth. At Kirkliston he refreshed his army, and received information that Wallace, with his army, lay in the forest of Falkirk, watching an opportunity to harass his retreat. The English were immediately in motion, retraced their steps to the moor of Linlithgow, where they passed the night under arms, and next morning discovered the enemy in battle array behind a morass.

A. C. 1298.

Mutiny in the English camp.

The patriot army amounted to 30,000; and had the concord of its chiefs been in any degree equal to its numbers, or the natural valour of its soldiers, Edward would have found himself hardly matched. But, unfortunately, the jealousy of the barons, which had already scowled upon Wallace, now broke out in contention for the honourable preference of commanding the front line. Birth and opulence

Scottish chiefs contend.

A. C. 1298. urged the claim of preference for Stewart and Comyn. Military glory, deeds atchieved, and the popular suffrage, preponderated in favour of Wallace. Each obstinately asserted his right to the post of honour, and the strife blasted the hopes of the common cause. They were already drawn out in battle array at Chapel of Var, in a stony field near Falkirk. Wallace had formed his spearmen, the flower of his army, into four circular bodies, connected with each other by a line of archers; before was a morass, and the cavalry behind.

The strength of Edward's army was his cavalry, they were divided into three columns, one led by Bigot, Earl Marshal, the second by Beck bishop of Durham, the third was commanded by Edward in person.

English gain the battle of Falkirk.

At the first onset, Comyn went off the field with all his followers. Stewart with his division was surrounded by the enemy, and entirely cut in pieces: Macduff and Graham fell on the field. Wallace with his spearmen still opposed an impenetrable front to the assailants. But whilst Edward pressed him in front, Bruce (who on that day fought in the English army) is said to have wheeled round the morass and hill, and came upon Wallace behind, who, finding himself entirely overpowered, retreated with the wreck of his army beyond the Carron; and while he was there

collecting his few surviving soldiers, and providing as he could for their safety and succour, Bruce, from the right bank of the river, beckoned to him as if he wished a conference, which Wallace readily complied with, and coming close to the left bank, where the channel was narrow, so that they could distinctly hear each other, Bruce thus began : A. C. 1298.

Conference between Bruce and Wallace.

" I am astonished, Wallace, that, allured by " popular favour, as unsteady as the flitting " breeze, thou shouldst stand out against the " most powerful monarch of the age, and supported too by the greatest strength of Scot- " land, and that thou shouldst bear such toil, " and expose thyself to such danger, without " any plausible prospect of remuneration. For, ' even if thou shouldst conquer Edward, " (which it were wild to hope for,) the Scot- " tish nation will never permit thee to reign " over it ; and if thou be overcome, thou hast " no resource but in the clemency of the vic- " tor."

" Mistake me not, O Bruce, (replied Scot- " land's hero,) my ambition is as far from de- " siring the Scottish crown as fortune can be " averse to bestow it. But seeing my native " soil and countrymen (by the cowardice or

* Whilst Wallace was retreating, he was closely pursued by Brian le Jay, the master of the Templars, and turning round upon him with scorn, slew him in sight of the English army, and thereby slackened the pursuit. The prior of Torphichen, another clerical knight of the order of Jerusalem or Malta, fell in that battle.

A. C. 1298.

"inactivity of those who had a right to the "throne) abandoned to the ignominious sla- "very or barbarous oppression of a merciless "enemy, I espoused the cause of liberty and "justice, shamefully neglected by you; nor "will I desert it but with life. You who pre- "fer base slavery with security to honourable "liberty with danger, embrace the lot you so "much esteem! Be mine the glory to die free, "in the service and defence of freedom."

They parted, but the magnanimous speech of Wallace still rung in Bruce's ears, drew tears from his eyes, stung him with remorse, and from that moment made him a convert to the cause of freedom.

Here I cannot help lamenting that Wallace should have in any wise contributed to the loss of this battle, by contending with the other chiefs for the post of honour. Granting that his deeds of valour, and the acclamation of the people gave him the preferable title to command, still, true patriotism ought to have made him say, My noble defenders of a nobler cause, take the lead if you please; let me not enfeeble the unanimous ardour of our army by strife for a vain punctilio of seeming distinction: Let me hold the lowest rank, provided my country be free.—But it is easier to conquer nations than to rule our own passions.

A. C. 1299

Wallace retires.

Wallace, now overborne by the jealousy of rivals, having lost, by the fate of war, his best and ablest friends, and, by misfortune, fallen from the popularity which he had gained by success, retired to cherish in his heart the love of the cause which envy had hindered him from enlightening by his counsels or promoting by his valour.

The discomfiture of the Scottish army procured little advantage to Edward. He was obliged to return southward, lest his victorious army should perish by famine. He strengthened some castles in his retreat, and left Galloway and the whole country beyond the friths of Forth and Clyde, independent, and in possession of the patriots who still refused submission to his authority and resisted his arms.

Whilst Edward was occupied in England with restraining or soothing his discontented subjects, by threats, or by promises of lavish grants of land in Scotland, to entice them to aid him in the final conquest of that kingdom, the Scottish patriots appointed William Lamberton bishop of St Andrew's, Robert Bruce earl of Carrick, and John Comyn, younger, as a council of regency and guardians of Scotland.

Council of regency.

The first care of the new regents was to reduce the castle of Stirling. It was of the utmost importance, as being the principal pass

A. C. 1299. into the Scottish Highlands. Edward anxiously wished to preserve it, and proposed marching with an army to raise the siege, but his barons refused to follow him. The prospect of a winter campaign in Scotland was nowise inviting; and perhaps they thought that Edward's success in his new conquest might arm him against their own liberties. Edward was therefore compelled to send orders to the garrison in Stirling castle to capitulate with the besiegers.

Stirling surrenders.

Application to the Pope.

The Scottish patriots had already solicited the protection of the pontiff against the usurpation of Edward; and, to induce the Holy Father more zealously to espouse their cause, alleged that Scotland of right belonged to the see of Rome.* Boniface warmly undertook the defence of the Scottish nation; and, in a tone of authority, required that Edward should desist from his unjust aggression, should li-

* Fordun asserts repeatedly, Lib. xi. that Scotland was a fief of the see of Rome, but refers to no public authentic document for proof thereof. We do not meet with, so far as I can perceive, in Scottish history, any claim to such superiority by any pontiff before Boniface VIII. We have seen that the Pope's legates were often not treated with great courtesy when they did not seem to deserve it, and on some occasions were not even permitted to enter the kingdom.

When, by the intrigues of Roger archbishop of York, (a prelate unworthy of that character, and who, on account of his notorious avarice, had been forbidden to enter Scotland) an attempt was made to subject the Scottish church to the archbishop of York as its metropolitan, it was replied to Hugo, cardinal deacon of St Angelo, the Pope's legate *a latere*, that Scotland, from the first introduction of the Christian faith, had been free, and subject to no jurisdiction out of the realm but to that of the sovereign pontiff in quality of the vicar of Christ, "preterquam uni pontifici *velut* Christi vicario,"—Boethius, Lib. xiii. fol. 285., and surely in that quality he had no temporal jurisdiction.

berate the bishops, clergy, and natives of Scotland, and reserved to himself the decision of every process or controversy pending between the king of England and the king or people of Scotland. Edward condescended to explain to Boniface his title to the superiority of Scotland, though he greatly questioned the pontiff's jurisdiction to decide upon a right which had (he said) been regularly transmitted down to him from a date antecedent, by twelve hundred years, to the establishment of the see of Rome. A. C. 1299.

The Scottish patriots, in their elaborate defence, vied with the English monarch in support of the antiquity and lustre of their origin, asserted the bravery of their Egyptian ancestors, who had won the kingdom of Scotland by their arms, and that its freedom and independence had still been maintained: That, indeed, on account of the great benefit of the Christian faith, the Scottish Church, not only became subject to the bishop of Rome, as the head of the universal church, but also as their immediate and only metropolitan: The Scottish state had also become a fief of the holy see, but without paying any tribute, as England was required to do when it afterwards became a feudal realm of Rome: That Scotland had a better claim to the superiority of England, as it could not be denied that Gregory king of 1300.

A. C. 1300. Scotland had formerly subdued England;—but that Scotland, being the peculiar *allodium* of the Roman see, could by no means become the fief of the English king; and, therefore, Edward's disavowing the pontiff's judgment and decision, who was lord paramount of both kingdoms, was an evident proof that his cause was untenable.

It was an easy matter for Boniface to prove, by solid and good reasons, that Edward had no just claim to the feudal superiority of Scotland; but it was not easy to satisfy the English nation that the pontiff had a right to call the present question before his court, or that his decision was binding: And (notwithstanding King John's solemn subjection of the kingdom of England, in fee to the Roman church, to Pope Innocent, and Innocent's rightful successors, by the annual rent of one thousand merks, and that in presence of his prelates, barons, and knights, and which oath was renewed by Henry III., his son and successor) the English Parliament held at Lincoln, 12th February 1301, declared to Boniface, "That it is, and by the grace of God "shall always be, our common and unanimous "resolve, that, with respect to his temporal "rights, our Lord the King shall not plead "before you, nor submit in any manner to "your judgment, nor suffer his right to be

English refuse the Pope's temporal authority.

"brought into question by any inquiry, nor A. C. 1301.
"send agents or procurators for that purpose
"to your court." This shews how little account was made, even in that age, of subjection in temporals to the Roman pontiff, however solemn and sacred they might appear.

All that Scotland obtained by the interference of the pontiff, aided by the solicitation of Philip king of France, was a truce of seven months, which was no less useful to Edward than to the Scottish patriots.

Boniface and Philip became good friends, after much wrangling. A peace was concluded between France and England. Scotland was left to contend with Edward's undivided force the best she could.

In the year 1301, the English army, about midsummer, entered Lothian, and advanced to Linlithgow, where they erected a fortress. Their cavalry suffered much from want of forage: A second truce was procured, by the mediation of the king of France. Another truce.

That truce expired, and, next year, Edward sent another expedition into Scotland, consisting of thirty thousand troops, under the command of John de Segrave. That general having no expectation of meeting, for some time, any resistance, marched his army in three divisions, at some distance from each other. Comyn the Regent, and Simon Fraser, gain-

A. C. 1302. Feb. 24. Victory of the patriots.

ing intelligence of Segrave's movements, raised a select band of eight thousand men, and prepared to meet the enemy; and at day-break fell in with the first column at Roslyn, which, at the first furious onset, they routed with great slaughter; Segrave himself was grievously wounded. The patriots pursuing their success, met the second English column, and, flushed with victory, drove that division back upon the third, defeated the whole army, and returned victorious with the booty and armour they had collected.

1303. A new invasion.

But Edward now mustered all the military force of his dominions, that he might subdue Scotland for ever. The patriots had no strength fit to oppose him in the field; and they had few castles, except that of Stirling, to mar his progress from the southern to the northern extremities of Scotland. Edward avoided the bridge so fatal to Cressingham, and crossed the Forth some miles below Stirling. The first opposition he met with was at Brechin castle, which was defended by the gallant Sir Thomas Maule for twenty days. That brave governor was slain by a stone from one of the engines. "May we not surrender the castle?" said his soldiers, when they saw him fall. "Cowards, surrender!" returned the indignant hero, and expired. Next day, Edward became master of the castle, and pur-

sued without molestation his victorious career through Aberdeen and Banff, to Caithness, and on his return took up his winter quarters in the spacious abbey of Dunfermline, a great part of which was burnt down in return for the shelter it had afforded to him and his army. A curious treaty was here concluded of exchange of prisoners, banishment of some to foreign countries, and relegation of others beyond the Trent. A. C. 1303.

Surrender of Stirling castle,

Stirling castle, with its garrison, under the command of Sir William Oliphant, was now the only place of strength in the hands of the patriots. It held out against the whole force of Edward's army for three months: at length their provisions and warlike stores being consumed, and the castle reduced to a heap ofruins, the garrison surrendered, some say at the discretion of the victor, others say by a capitulation for life and liberty, which though signed by Edward was broken, and Sir William sent to London and thrown into prison.*

The same historians relate, that Edward not only removed to England all those whom he dreaded might excite new insurrections, but also seemed desirous of extirpating the me-

* Tandem coacti, deficientibus rebus necessariis, sese dedidere, ea lege ut liberi discederent; quae postquam signata, diplomatibus Edvardi, fuissent, attamen contra pacta, Wilhelmus ipse prefectus Londinum missus ac in carcerem conjectus est.—*Boeth.* Lib. xiv. fol 309. Nihilominus Guliel-mus Olivarius qui arci praefectus erat, adversus pacta et conventa retentus est, et Londinum in custodia missus.---*Buch.* Lib. viii. p 143.

A. C. 1303. mory of the Scottish nation, by destroying all the monuments erected by the Romans or the Scotch. He ordered every record and history of Scotland to be burnt,* caused every remaining vestige of literature and learned men to be transferred to England, carried off from Scone the rude marble upon which the Scottish kings were seated at their coronation, and to which (according to the vulgar prejudice) the fate of Scotland was attached. In a word, left nothing that could tend to arouse the valour of Scotchmen, or awaken the memory of their former liberty, that their spirits as well as their fortunes being entirely broken, they might, ever after, crouch in humble slavery to him and his successors.

Records destroyed.

1304. Yet although Edward had obtained all these submissions according to his wish, he thought he had acquired nothing whilst Wallace, the formidable Wallace, was alive. His anxiety to get this hero within his power, and his resolution to put him to death whilst others were spared, clearly points out the hatred he had conceived against him, and the estimation in which he held his courage and military ta-

* Non contentus enim sustulisse omnes qui res novas moliri posse videbantur, adjecit animum ad omnem (si fieri posset) gentis memoriam absolendam. Legis enim veteres delevit—historias fœdera monumentaque vetusta sive a Romanis relicta, sive a Scotis erecta destruenda curavit libros omnes literarumque Doctores in Angliam transtulit—neque quidquam omnino reliquit, quod spiritus generosos, aut sui memoriam ad pristinæ fortunæ recordationem excitare, aut ad veram animi magnitudinem erudire et excolere posset.—Buch. ibid.

lents. Although Wallace had given up his command, he had not laid asid his ardour for his country's freedom. Wherever he had been since the battle of Falkirk, he was now in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and was betrayed into the hands of the English by the base treachery of Sir John Menteith, in whom he had unfortunately confided. He was conducted to London, and formally arraigned as a traitor. Wallace admitted that he had made lawful war against the English, had stormed their castles, burnt their villages, and slain many of their warriors: but denied the charge of a traitor, since he never had sworn fealty to Edward, never held him as his king, but, on the contrary had ever regarded him as the enemy and oppressor of his country. The hero, undaunted and unsubdued in spirit, was condemned to the death of a traitor, and the sentence was executed in all its horror and cruelty,—his head was fixed on a spear on the tower of London, and his mangled limbs distributed through and suspended in the several districts of Scotland. Thus Edward glutted his revenge; and though he did not, as he hoped, thereby secure the peaceful submision of Scotland, yet he secured to the memory of her patriot hero immortal love and fame, and to his own memory the indelible odium of that nation.

A. C. 1304.

Wallace betrayed and executed, Aug. 23. 1303.

A. C. 1305.

New regulations.

Edward summoned a parliament at Perth, for regulating the government, wherein new magistrates and justiciaries were appointed, laws reformed, &c.—which, as they were of so short duration, I pass by; for the flame of Scottish patriotism was only smothered, the love of independence was not subdued,—only a skilful hand was wanted to stir the embers, and the pride and unconquerable spirit of the nation waited only for a favourable occasion to burst the fetters of its new lord and spurn his yoke. That occasion was nearer than Edward apprehended. A colloquy soon took place between the two noblemen who had the best pretensions to the Scottish crown. These were Robert Bruce, the son or grandson* of him who had been the competitor of Baliol, and John Comyn, surnamed the Red, from the florid colour of his countenance, who was the cousin-german of Baliol. Those young noblemen Edward had often amused and deceived with the hopes of the feudal crown of their

Colloquy and agreement between Bruce and Comyn.

* Our modern historians assert, that Robert Bruce, who mounted the Scottish throne, was the grandson of the competitor of Baliol. Our ancient historians call him the son of the competitor. Buchanan says, "*Robertus "Brusius filius ejus qui cum Baliolo contenderat.*" If it was the competitor who married the Countess of Carrick, the ancient historians are correct. Boethius says truly, "Eo connubio natus est Robertus Bruis, "qui postea, Alexandri Regis stirpe deficiente, regnum Scotiæ adep-"tus est,"—Lib. xiii. fol. 301. The son of the countess of Carrick was born 1274. He was therefore 32 years of age in 1306, which agrees with the dates of Bruce's coronation, the length of his life, and reign. If, however, it can be proved that he was the great grandson of David, who married Martha countess of Carrick, and that his father was still alive at the time of the competition in 1292, the moderns are in the right. But I do not see sufficient documents for that assumption.

country, that he might the better procure their assistance in subduing Scotland wholly under his own power. Bruce and Comyn, though jealous of each other, yet both resenting the deceit of Edward, ventured mutually to unbosom their indignation against his dissimulation, and their sorrow for the degraded and afflicted state of their native land. A. C. 1305.

After much serious consultation, it was agreed on that Comyn should resign to Bruce his right to the crown, and that Bruce should cede to Comyn all the lands which he himself possessed in Scotland, which were both very extensive and fruitful, and that he should be the next to the king in power and honour. Accordingly a bond to that effect was drawn up and signed by their hands, sealed with their seals, and mutually exchanged; after which Bruce set off for London, to avoid suspicion and wait a favourable opportunity. But Comyn, whether he rued his bargain, or wished to get rid of a rival, disclosed the agreement to Edward, and sent him his own duplicate of the mutual bond with the signatures. Edward, though he strongly suspected the document to be rather a contrivance of envy than a proof of a real conspiracy, yet, as he was doubtful, called Bruce, and shewing him the instrument, asked him if he knew his own hand-writing. Bruce stoutly denied his hav- Comyn betrays Bruce.

A. C. 1305. ing any concern in such device, and begged to have leave to examine the pretended covenant for one night; and if he did not prove it to be a malicious forgery, he would forfeit all his lands in England and elsewhere. Edward the more readily consented, that he wished to have the brothers of Bruce under his power before he proceeded to extremes. Meantime the Earl of Gloucester, who durst not warn Bruce of his danger by writing, sent him a pair of gilt spurs*, and some pieces of gold coin, as if he had borrowed them from him on

Bruce flees. the preceding day. Bruce understood the hint, and sending for a blacksmith, caused him to shoe his horses inversely, that he might not be traced on the snow which then lay on the ground, and left London about midnight with only two attendants. A new fall of snow still more effectually concealed his route; and in seven days he arrived at his castle of Lochmaben, and there found Edward his brother, together with a Mr Robert Fleming, to whom he communicated the cause of his flight, and

* The latest and best of the English historians has ascribed to the genius of Hume the gilding of the spurs, and the transmutation of twelve pennies into a purse of gold; but Hume received the spurs, already gilt, from Buchanan; and if his genius wove the purse, Boethius and Buchanan afforded him the gold to replenish it.—"Brusius interea, per Comitem "Gomeriæ avitum amicum, certior de repentino periculo factus: qui non "ausus fugæ consilium litteris committere, Brusii exemplo monitus, ad "eum *calcaria inaurata, numosqae aliquot aureos* misit, tanquam, superiore haec die, mutuo ab eo accepisset."—*Buchan.* Lib. viii. p. 141.

"Nam fugæ consilium Comes Glomerensis dare, missis duobus calcaribus "cum duobus aureis, videbatur.—*Boeth.* Lib. xiv. fol. 310.

the danger he had been in by Comyn's treachery. They both offered to accompany him to Dumfries, where Comyn then was, and, on their way, fell in with a servant of Comyn, whom, it seems, Fleming knowing, they thought proper to search, and found upon him a new dispatch to King Edward, admonishing him to lose no time in making away with Bruce, otherwise, by his boldness and intrigues, a commotion would soon be excited which it would be difficult to appease. Having got possession of these letters, and slain the bearer, Bruce proceeded to Dumfries, burning with anger and indignation against Comyn; and having obtained an interview with him in the Minorite or Grey-Friars church, produced the bond sent to Edward, and the intercepted letters, upbraiding Comyn for his base treachery; which being barefacedly denied, Bruce, in a sudden impulse of fury, drew his sword and plunged it in Comyn's bosom. Going hastily out of the church, he was met by two of his friends, James Lindsay and Roger Kilpatrick, who, seeing him agitated and pale, asked what was the matter? Bruce replied, "I believe I "have killed Comyn." "You only think "so!" rejoined they, and, rushing into the church, finished the assassination. Together with Red John Comyn fell also Sir Robert Comyn, while he was endeavouring to defend

A. C. 1305.

Assassination of Comyn.

A. C. 1306. his nephew. These murders happened on the 10th February 1306.

Edward's justiciaries were then holding their courts in the town, and being alarmed for their personal safety, upon hearing the rumour, barricaded the doors of the court-house. Bruce threatened to set the place on fire; they surrendered to his mercy. He sent them out of the kingdom uninjured.

Edward resolves to fight alive or dead.

Edward, upon hearing the intelligence, saw his hopes of the quiet and permanent subjection of Scotland frustrated, and that, after all his toil and expence, he must begin his conquest anew. He sent orders to his lieutenant, Aymer de Valence, to pursue Bruce and his party, and to prevent insurrection. All the young nobility were assembled to receive, together with young Edward of Caernarvon, the honour of knighthood. Two hundred and seventy, besides the young prince, clothed in silken vesture, and mantles of purple and gold, in presence of birds, the plumage of which eclipsed the glory of their dress, were knighted, and swore by *peacock*, *pheasant*, and *swan*, to revenge the death of Comyn, and punish the perfidious rebels. The king himself, determined to fight, alive or dead, until he had belaboured the rebellious Scots, requested that, if he died before his son had accomplished his vow, they should keep his bones above

ground until its happy completion. The young hero, with all his companions, redoubled their oaths, not to sleep two nights in the same place until they had entered Scotland to fulfil the king's commands. A. C. 1306.

SYNOPTICAL REVIEW

OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND RELIGION, IN THE THIRTEENTH AGE.

Asia and Europe were still scenes of confusion and bloodshed. The east was occupied by the Moguls, Turks, and Saracens. Different tribes from the west had settled in Palestine and Syria. These nations waged incessant war with one another.

Genghiskan, one of the most famous warriors and conquerors that the world has seen, was born at Diloun in 1154. He was the son of Piscoua, a Mogul chan. He gained many victories over the Moguls and Tartars; and, having formed one of the greatest empires of the world, died 1226. His descendants were powerful kings, until Tamerlane, or Timur Bec, *i. e.* Timur the Lame, seized their states, and became the great emperor of the Tartars.

Alexis emperor of Constantinople was assasinated by Ducas, surnamed Mourchouffle, who seized the crown. But the Western crusaders, contrary to all right, as well as their

professed destination, took Constantinople on the 12th April 1204, plundered it, and committed the most horrid sacrileges. The French and Venetians divided the spoil. The share of the former amounted to forty thousand marks of silver, besides what was concealed. Those plunderers elected Baudouin, count of Flanders, emperor of the sacked city ; but he, next year, was defeated, taken prisoner, and afterwards cruelly put to death by Joannice king of Bulgaria. Henry, the brother of Baudouin, was made emperor. The Greeks crowned Theodore Lascaris 1206. Michael Paleologus regained Constantinople in the year 1261. The Latin emperor and patriarch fled to Italy. Arsenius, the old Greek patriarch, was recalled.

Germany was divided by the different princes who competed for the Western empire. Otho, son of the duke of Saxony, and of Mathildes, sister of Richard and John, kings of England, at length obtained it by the help of Pope Innocent III. who crowned Otho 4th October 1209, and excommunicated him next year. Otho's affairs, from that time, went daily backwards. Frederick II. next obtained the empire, then the Landgrave of Thuringia, and afterwards the Count of Holland. The troubles of Germany subsided after the election of Rodolphus, son of Albert de Haspourg, Octo-

ber 1273. Rodolphus did not go to Rome to be crowned, saying, that none of his predecessors had ever returned thence without some loss either of his right or of his authority. He made a treaty with the Pope, engaging to protect the goods and privileges of the Roman see. He overcame Ottocarus, king of Bohemia, and left his son Abert the territory of Austria. He was succeeded in the empire by Adolphus of Nassau 1291.

Pope Innocent IV. and, afterwards, Alexander IV. (1155) offered the kingdom of Sicily to Prince Edmond, son of Henry III. king of England, but gave it afterwards to Charles duke of Anjou, brother to the king of France. The massacre of the French by the inhabitants of that island happened 29th March 1282, and was called the *Sicilian vespers*.

France and England were also much disturbed. We have seen the crown of England taken and given by the Pope,—the king and the nobles wrangling and fighting with one another. Some of the provinces of France were laid desolate by the crusades against the Albigenses, and horrid cruelties committed. Such wild armaments, and such horrid carnage, were the dictates, or were the effects, of false policy and misguided zeal. They put humanity to the blush, and disgraced religion,

of which they assumed the name, to screen their atrocities.

In the beginning of this century, the whole kingdom of France was interdicted, because King Philip had put away his queen, Ingeburga, and espoused Agnes of Merania. Philip took back his queen, and the interdict was removed.

It was something extraordinary that the inquisition was established in France at the desire of the king, in 1255, and committed to the management of the preaching friars. The intention of St Louis was good, but disturbances ofttimes arose from the execution.

Learning in the East was favoured in the empire of the Moguls, but destroyed wherever the Turks were established. In the empire of Constantinople there were still philosophers and men who cultivated literature.

European ecclesiastics and religious, who accompanied the crusaders in the east, became well acquainted with the Greek language, and some of them learned the Arabic. Works written in these languages were brought to the West and translated. Frederick II. caused severals to be translated, and even translated some himself. He also established schools both in Germany and Italy.

The schools at Paris were very flourishing in the twelfth century; but a misunderstand-

ing which arose between the scholars and the burghers, and which at length came to blows and bloodshed, had like to have materially hurt that nursery of learning and science. The university thought it did not receive satisfaction from Queen Blanche, (then regent,) from the legate, nor the bishop of Paris. The professors and scholars left Paris, and dispersed themselves in all different directions in the year 1229. Pope Gregory IX., by examining the matter impartially, and establishing wise and salutary regulations for the future, as also by judicious and conciliatory letters to Queen Blanche and to the young king, re-established the university, and promoted solid learning, 1231.

In the year 1253 was founded the college of the Sorbonne, the most famous of the university of Paris. It took its name from the founder, Robert de Sorbonne, a canon of Cambray, and afterwards chaplain to St Louis. Before that institution, there was not in Europe a community of secular ecclesiastics who lived and taught together. The principal view of the founder was to promote science and piety; nor was he disappointed. Its library was in 1290 the best and most beautiful in France. It contained above 1000 volumes valued at 30,000 livres. Afterwards no less

than 3812 livres 10 sols 8 deniers were expended in the purchase of choice books.

In 1289, Pope Nicholas IV. erected the university of Montpellier. The dispersion of the Parisian professors in 1229, gave occasion to the erection of the universities of Angers and Orleans.

In this age flourished the famous Doctors St Bonaventure and St Thomas d'Aquin,—of our own countrymen, Michael Scott of Balwirie, Hugh Benham, bishop of Aberdeen, Thomas Lermont, or the Rhymer, Simon Taylor, a Dominican friar, who so improved the sacred music that it might have vied with that of Rome.

Religion.—The temporal power of the pope and clergy was a great abatement to the progress of true piety. It occupied the clergy too much about earthly things, and made them neglect their more essential spiritual duties. It involved them in continual wranglings with sovereigns and powerful lords. It too often caused them to forget the sanctity of their character, and drew upon them the contempt of the people whom they ought to have enlightened by their instructions and edified by their example.

Strong and pathetic exhortations were often made by popes and other men of great zeal

and exemplary piety; but the evils required more specific remedies than admonitions, however eloquent and affecting.

Some introduced into theology too much of dialectical curiosity, and gave rise to idle questions and opinions, dangerous and hurtful to the simplicity of faith, which seeks only the certainty of divine revelation. However erroneous or evil were the tenets of the Albigenses, Waldenses, &c. the true remedy for their correction was to have sent among them learned and pious men, endowed with the spirit of the Apostles, and who would have instructed them in the spirit of lenity.

In 1205, the Armenians, with their king Leo, reunited themselves with the Catholic church, and submitted themselves to the obedience of the see of Rome. A dispute arose between the secular doctors of the university of Paris and those of the religious orders. The former wished to get rid of the latter, and reproached their beggary, and their refusal of manual labour. The religious were supported by the bulls of the pope, and by the masterly defence of St Thomas d'Aquin.

St Louis, hearing that Sartach, a Tartar prince, had become Christian, sent William de Rubruquis, a Cordelier, to congratulate the prince upon that happy event, and to assist in the instruction of his people. But Sartach

was any thing that suited his interest or his vanity. The friar relates the particulars of his mission, which was short, and not very successful. In 1267, the council of Vienna endeavoured to correct the secular clergy, and the abbots and monks of the Benedictine order, who had become relaxed.

At the council of Lyons, the Greek church was reconciled with the Latin. At mass the Epistles, Gospel, and Nicene creed were sung in Latin and Greek. The words, *who proceeds from the Father and Son*, were thrice repeated. Pope Gregory X. was the celebrant, and he afterwards intoned the *Te Deum* shedding tears of joy.

Unhappily this union was ere long again interrupted. An embassy of sixteen Tartars was received by the council, which embassy was professedly only political, yet one of the ambassadors, with two of his suite, were solemnly baptized.

The rules of the conclave for election of popes were prescribed.

The farther multiplication of religious orders was forbidden, and certain restrictions appointed for those already approved of.

CHAPTER XI.

Robert Bruce crowned—defeated at Methven—again near Loch Tay—sails to Rachrin—gains some advantage—Cruel execution of some of Bruce's friends; rigorous punishment of others—Troops from Ireland defeated by Macdowal—Thomas and Alexander Bruce put to death—James Douglas joins Bruce—Battle of Loudon Hill—Abbey of Paisley burnt by the English—Edward's death—Edward II,, his progress to Cumnock—Bruce overruns Galloway—divides his forces—Battle of Inverury—Valour of Douglas—Conquest of Galloway by Edward Bruce—Conquest of Lorn—Truce mediated by the king of France—Inroad into Scotland—Linlithgow castle taken—Perth taken—The castles of Dumfries, Dalswinton, and Edinburgh surrender—Farther progress—Preparations for invading Scotland—Art of war improved in Scotland—Order of the Scotch army—Clifford defeated—Henry de Bohun slain—Battle of Bannockburn—English defeated—Stirling castle surrenders—Baston's poem—Inroads into England—Settlement of succession to the Scottish crown—War in Ireland—Edward Bruce crowned king—Address of the Irish to the Pope—Edward Bruce defeated and killed—Mutual inroads—Valour of the bishop of Dunkeld—Bull of truce from the pontiff—Berwick and other castles taken—Berwick besieged by Edward—Siege abandoned—Truce—Scottish address to the pontiff—favourably received—Black Parliament—Treason and death of Lancaster—Inroad of the Scotch—Mutual irruptions—Truce—Birth of David Bruce—Fealty sworn to the young prince—Death of Walter Stewart—Death of Edward II. of England—Another irruption into England—Bold enterprise of Douglas—Another irruption into England—Treaty of peace, and affiance of David the prince of Scotland and Jane princess of England—Death of Elizabeth, queen of Scotland—Marriage of David and Jane—Death and character of Robert Bruce—Death of the gallant Douglas,

A. C. 1306. BRUCE having violated both the peace of the church and of Edward, by his sacrilegious

assassination of Comyn, nothing less than a crown, boldly assumed and bravely maintained, could protect his forfeited head. He hastened to Scone, attended by the bishops of St Andrew's and Glasgow, the abbot of Scone, Edward, Nigel, Thomas, and Alexander, his four brothers; Thomas Randolph, Christopher Seaton, Malcolm earl of Lenox, John Earl of Athole, James Douglas, Gilbert and Hugh de la Haye, David Barclay, Alexander Fraser, Walter Sommerville, David de Inchmartin, Robert Boyd, and Robert Fleming: all of whom, by their vows of fealty and plausive acclamation, encouraged Robert to place himself on the Scottish throne. Macduff earl of Fife enjoyed the right of setting the crown on the head of the king, but cautiously waived assisting at the inauguration of Bruce. His sister Isabella, countess of Buchan, therefore, undertook to perform that honourable office, and Bruce was solemnly invested with the insignia of royalty on the 27th March 1306.

A. C. 1306.

Bruce is crowned.

Edward, though impatient to crush, in its embryo, this daring attack upon his newly-acquired domain, yet, weakened by a dysentery, he could only, carried on a litter, reach Carlisle, and passed the winter in that neighbourhood: But the Earl of Pembroke had reached Perth ere Bruce could muster any force to oppose him. Bruce, however, with too ardent

A. C. 1306.

Defeated at Methven,

chivalry, challenged Pembroke to meet him between the wood of Methven and Perth, where an obstinate combat ensued. Bruce fought more with the daring valour of a soldier than with the caution of a king and a general. Six of his bravest knights were made prisoners. He himself, thrown from his horse, and in the utmost danger, was rescued by the brave Seaton. Bruce, with his few remaining friends, was obliged to seek a retreat among the Grampian hills, and to subsist chiefly upon the venison and fish which the forests and rivulets afforded them.

Another defeat near Loch Tay.

Stewart of Lorn, who had married an aunt of Comyn, more eager, perhaps, to revenge his kinsman's murder than zealous for the cause of Edward, mustered his vassals, came upon Bruce and his slender company in Strathfillan, on a plain still known by the name of Dalree, or Kingsholm. A desperate affray ensued, in which Bruce and his followers were again worsted: and were obliged to separate and seek their safety where they best could. Malcolm earl of Lennox, and Gilbert Hay, were two of Bruce's most steady friends.

The wives and some other female relations of the royal fugitive and his companions, who had for some time accompanied them in their wandering life, to share and to soothe their sufferings, were now conducted by Nigel Bruce

to the castle of Kildrummie, in the district of Marre, which was still in the possession of the friends of Bruce. A. C. 1306.

Bruce, with two hundred men, travelled westward, crossed a part of Loch-Lomond, were kindly received by the Earl of Lennox, and were soon after provided with a vessel, in which they sailed from the mouth of the Clyde to Cantyre, where they were hospitably entertained by Angus Macdonald lord of the Isles, at his castle of Dunaverty. From thence, in a few days, the Scottish king with a few attendants again put to sea, and landed in the small isle of Rachrin or Rachlin, contiguous to the north-east coast of Ireland, where he passed the winter. From Rachrin he dispatched his brothers Thomas, and Alexander, to the main-land of Ireland, to solicit the Irish septs, or clans, to join their ancient brethren the Scotch, against the English their common enemy. Bruce himself, as soon as the season would admit, put to sea, and arrived in the isle of Arran, near the Scottish main-land. A trusty messenger was thence dispatched to rouse the people on Bruce's estates in Galloway and Carrick; but the English were in possession of the castle of Turnberry and its vicinity, and no vassals of Bruce were found to aid their master and their king. A blaze on the hill above Turnberry was mistaken by

Sails to Rachrin.

A. C. 1306. Bruce and his party for the messenger's signal of success: They rowed eagerly to the shore of Carrick, where Cuthbert awaited them and informed them of their mistake, and of the failure of his mission: but Bruce being now close upon the English, and favoured by the darkness of the night, in places better known to him than to the enemy, attacked their straggling parties and slew the most of them. Piercy and his garrison beheld the slaughter without daring to sally forth. The Brucians procured, by booty and pillage, a small relief of their present distress, and betook themselves again to the mountains. But the transient gleam of this small advantage was soon obscured by the sorrowful news of the melancholy fate of their friends. The castle of Kildrummie had been besieged by the English. The ladies had made their escape from it, and fled to the sanctuary of St Duthac, at Tain in Ross-shire; but the Earl of Ross, in violation of its usual privileges, had delivered them up to the English. Nigel Bruce, with his small garrison, determined to defend Kildrummie to the last extremity; but a traitor called Osburne, having secretly set fire to their magazine of weapons and provisions, they were necessitated to surrender at discretion. Nigel was condemned at Berwick to die as a traitor, was hanged, and his head

Execution of the friends of Bruce.

severed from his lifeless body. Christopher Seaton, the husband of Bruce's sister, together with his brother Alexander, met the same cruel death. The Earl of Athol also, and others of obscure note, were executed as traitors, for their brave and laudable efforts in defence of their country's liberty. The brave Simon Fraser met a similar fate, and the head of this renowned warrior was exposed on a lance near to that of the illustrious Wallace. Bruce's wife and daughter were sent into England and honourably treated. Other ladies were dispersed among convents. The Countess of Buchan, who, in the right of her family, had set the crown on Bruce's head, and Mary, the sister of Bruce, (who, by that relation, in Edward's mind, doubtless merited distinctive punishment,) were treated with refined rigour. They were sent to the castles of Berwick and Roxburgh, where each was pent up, like a wild beast, in a cage of latticed work; the latter for four years, the former till after the battle of Bannockburn, that is, for the space of seven years. Less pity seems due to the prelates of St Andrews and Glasgow, with the abbot of Scone; they were taken in complete armour, and their confinement in separate castles seems sufficiently mild.

A. C. 1307.

Rigorous punishment of others.

Such were the sad tidings which Bruce received of the ruin of his friends, and the cruel-

A. C. 1307. ties exercised on his family, soon after his return to Scotland, in the spring of the year 1307. In addition to these misfortunes, his brothers, Thomas and Alexander, who at

Feb. 9. length arrived from Ireland with seven hundred warriors to aid his cause, were met, upon their landing in the bay of Lochrian, by Macdowal, a considerable chieftain, with his armed vassals, who, attacking those strangers, imperfectly armed, and incapable of making effectual resistance in their irregular and confused disembarkment, entirely routed them with great slaughter. The two Bruces, and several others of their leaders, were made prisoners, and conducted by Macdowal in triumph to King Edward at Carlisle, and were, by his command, immediately put to death.

Thomas and Alexander Bruce captured and executed.

Bruce, though he keenly felt the pressure of those evils, did not sink under them. His patriotism and ambition were inflamed by grief, indignation, and resentment. He did not waste time in idle apathy in the wilds of Carrick. His vassals of this district daily joined him in small parties. The Irish who had escaped the fury of Macdowal flocked to Bruce as soon as they discovered the place of his retreat. James Douglas, one of the most gallant and faithful of all who followed his fortunes, about this time joined him. This brave young hero was the son of William

Douglas the Hardy, already mentioned. He had studied at Paris, and hearing of his father's imprisonment and death, returned home to consult his friends what course he ought to adopt in the troubled state of his country. He applied first to the bishop of St Andrews, by whom he was kindly received and well entertained. The bishop had introduced him to King Edward when he was besieging Stirling castle, begging the king to receive and employ the young man in his faithful and warlike service, and restore to him his father's patrimony. But Edward, mindful of the stubbornness of William Douglas, replied that he had no use for the son's service, and, as to the patrimonial estate, it was already disposed of to those who had well deserved it. Young Douglas, deeply resenting this repulse, returned, in the meantime, to the bishop's service; but as soon as opportunity served (with the secret connivance of the bishop) carried off some gold of Bishop Lamberton, and several of his best horses, and, together with some spirited young gentlemen, attached himself to the service of King Robert. Douglas' first exploit was repairing secretly to Douglas-dale, where, surprising the English in Douglas castle, he put the garrison to the sword; and having plundered and burnt the castle, returned to Bruce on the confines

A.C. 1307.

James Douglas joins Bruce.

A. C. 1307. between Ayrshire and Galloway, with a supply of provisions, and an accession of new recruits.

Battle of Loudon Hill.

Bruce, thus daily acquiring new strength, annoyed the English garrisons, and seemed to bid fair to become master of all the west of Scotland. Edward still lay sick at Carlisle; but his lieutenant, Pembroke, marched with a considerable force to check Robert's career. Bruce aware of their approach, posted himself advantageously on Loudon Hill. Almost all the inhabitants of Cunningham, Kyle, and Carrick, that is, of all the present Ayrshire, were now devoted to his service. The armies met, and Pembroke was defeated. In a second engagement he defeated Ralph de Monthermer, and drove him to the castle of Ayr: He even laid siege to that fortress; but, upon a powerful force coming from England to their relief, was obliged to raise the siege.

Abbey of Paisley burnt.

About this time the English burnt the abbey of Paisley.

Edward lived to hear of these disasters of his troops—they increased his vexation, but he survived not to revenge them. Boethius relates that, whilst Edward lay seemingly at the point of death, fifty-five young striplings, the sons of Scottish noblemen, who had been taken captives at the reduction of the castle of Kildrummie, were brought into his presence, and being asked what should be done with them,

he cast a stern look at them, and commanded them all to be hanged. The sentence was immediately put in execution. Yet, in the beginning of July, he fancied his health was greatly improved, and ordered his army to advance to Scotland—mounted his war horse—but his progress was confined to six miles in four days; and, on the evening of the 7th day of July, at Burgh upon Sands, he expired, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his reign. Boethius adds, that he died without any apparent penitence, and without the usual rites of the church.*

A. C. 1307.

Edward Longshanks' death.

Edward, when dying, had sent for his son and successor; and, amongst many injunctions and advices, made him swear to boil his dead carcase, to strip off the flesh, and to bury it—(we are not told how the soup was to be disposed of,)—to preserve the bones, and, as often as the Scots should rebel, to summon his people, and carry against the insurgents the bones of his father; firmly believing, that the relics of the man they had hated would reduce to subjection the trembling rebels.†

Young Edward assumed the ensigns of royalty; received, at Carlisle, the homage of the

* "Ad fines Scotiae accedens gravi morbo implicitus vitam finivit nullo poenitentiae signo dato nec sacramentis, ex more acceptis."—*Boeth.* Lib. xiv. fol. 312.

† Froissart.

A. C. 1307. English barons, and, proceeding to Dumfries, summoned the Scottish barons to do the like. Severals complied, but a great many, expecting a change of affairs with the change of the monarch, neglected the summons. Edward proceeded in splendid procession as far as Cumnock, on the borders of Ayrshire; and as Bruce, with his patriots, had wisely retired to their secret recesses, the new English king was willingly persuaded that, as no hostile force had appeared to oppose him, there remained none that could materially disturb his government. He eagerly returned home to enjoy the pageantries of a coronation, and the hopes of meeting his favourite *Piers de Gaveston*. Neither did he think that the rattling of his father's bones would greatly frighten the Scots; and, therefore, sparing himself the trouble of boiling the cauldron, carried the carcase to Westminster, and left the dissection to the worms.

Bruce ravages Galloway.

A bright ray of hope now shone on Bruce and his party, which daily increased. All began to anticipate, with fear or with joy, the firm establishment of Bruce upon the Scottish throne. King Robert now ventured upon an expedition through Galloway, to punish Macdowal, and gain, if possible, the inhabitants to espouse his cause; but the Gallovidians were averse, for the greatest part, to join his stand-

ard. Much of Galloway had belonged to Comyn, whom he had slain; and a considerable part was still the inheritance of Macdowal, Bruce's enemy. Many inhabitants of Galloway were of English descent, and therefore persevered in their allegiance to the English king. Bruce, with his followers, overran that district with fire and sword, carrying off flocks and herds, with all other spoil that could be found. A. C. 1307.

Bruce now partitioned Scotland into three separate divisions. for the exertions of himself and of his two most distinguished leaders, viz. his brother Edward and the brave Sir James Douglas. Galloway was assigned to Edward Bruce. James Douglas was to have the ample range of Annandale, the forest of Selkirk, and the adjoining country, while Bruce himself was to pass into the north-west Highlands, the inhabitants of which seemed favourably inclined to him, and ready to join his standard. The plan was judicious, and attended with great success. With an army still increasing, Bruce pursued his prosperous course to Marre, and towards Aberdeen. At Inverury he was met by Comyn earl of Buchan, with a considerable force of Scottish and English troops, to give him battle. Divides his forces.

Robert, though sick, and, according to Boethius, carried in a litter, was no less eager to

A. C. 1308.

Battle of Inverury, 22d May.

encounter Comyn. At the first onset Buchan's troops were defeated, and fled with precipitation. The pleasure of the victory seemed to have triumphed over Robert's disease, and to have restored his health. The fugitives were pursued, and many slaughtered; and as Buchhan was in the possession of the most implacable enemies of Bruce, he wasted that district to desolation. The battle of Inverury was gained on Ascension-day, 22d May 1308.

Soon after, Donald of the Isles came with a considerable array of English and Scotch against King Robert; but was met and defeated by Edward Bruce, on the feast of St Peter and Paul, the 29th June. Donald himself was taken prisoner.

An English garrison still held the castle of Forfar. Forrester, a knight in the service of Bruce, scaled the wall by night, accompanied by a few chosen comrades, slaughtered the garrison, and dismantled the castle.

Valour of Douglas.

Meantime, Douglas spread the terror of his name in the south. He took the castle of Lanerk. The mountains of Clydesdale and Tweeddale, with the forests of Selkirk and Jedburgh, yielded to his valour. Near Peebles, he surprised and took two illustrious prisoners, Alexander Stewart and Thomas Randolph, Robert's nephew, who had assisted at his uncle's coronation, but afterwards, falling into the

hands of the English, had been compelled to make his peace with them; but being again reconciled with Bruce, became an illustrious champion of heroism and fidelity to his king and country. A. C. 1309.

Nor was Edward Bruce inactive in his department of Galloway. That country, difficult of access by its rocky hills, rivers, lakes, morasses, and impenetrable forests, was also fortified in several places by strong-holds. Edward entered Galloway at the head of a gallant company of patriots; and, ere he had penetrated far, was met by the formidable Macdowal and his bold Gallovidians, upon the river Dee, six miles above its junction with the Ken. There, upon an open moor, at a place called Craignell, in the parish of Minnigaff, a desperate affray took place, in which the patriots were victorious, and, rapidly pursuing the fleeing enemy, overran the country almost to Buittle castle, which, as yet, they did not attempt to besiege. The sea coast of Galloway was possessed by English, or by Scotch, who willingly adhered to the English king. The rumour of this famous invasion prompted the English commanders, John de St John and Ingelram d'Umfraville, to risk a battle which at once should decide what prince should rule the district. Wherefore, Edward and his patriots, pursuing their course as they won their

1310.

Conquest of Galloway, by Edward Bruce.

A. C. 1310. way were met by the united force of English and Gallovidians, on a plain near Caer Uchtred or Kirruchtree, on the banks of the river Cree, famous for a battle long before fought against the Romans. Edward Bruce, taking advantage of a foggy morning, came suddenly upon the enemy with only fifty horsemen, and before they could recover from their surprise, or ascertain the number of their assailants, struck them with a panic, and his infantry had only to join in pursuing and slaughtering the fugitives. Macdowal himself, the great chieftain of the Gallovidians, and the obstinate foe of Bruce, fell amongst others. Edward Bruce soon reduced every castle and strong-hold from the Irish channel to the Nith, and from the Solway to Ayrshire, and caused all persons swear allegiance to King Robert.

Bruce now resolved to chastise the men of Lorn, with their chieftain, for the victory they had gained over him at Dalree. Stewart, aware of his intention, caused his vassals to seize the pass between Loch-Awe and Loch-Etive, through which alone Bruce could easily enter Lorn. That narrow pass, it seemed, might be defended by a handful of men against an army. But Bruce sent a company of light armed men round the hill, whilst he made another party ascend the steep, immediately above

the height where the Lorn men stood in arms. He then, with the spearmen and caval- A. C. 1310.
ry, charged the encmy in front, whilst they were attacked in flank and rear; and by those means cut them in pieces. Advancing to Dunstaffnage, the chief castle belonging to Stewart, he easily took it, spoiled the country, and compelled the surviving inhabitants to swear fealty to him. The chieftain with difficulty escaped to England by sea.

Conquest of Lorn.

Philip king of France, induced by the gallant and prosperous fortune of Bruce, and perceiving the weakness of young Edward's government, endeavoured, by his mediation to procure at least a truce between the contending nations. He succeeded, and truce followed truce for some years; and, whilst King Robert lost no opportunity of strengthening his party, Edward, by wrangling with his subjects, and contending for an unworthy favourite, lost a crown.

Truce.

Once, indeed, in the end of September 1310, Edward, with a powerful army, entered Scotland,—passed through the forest of Selkirk to Biggar and Renfrew: but Bruce wisely avoided a general battle. There was then a severe famine in Scotland,—the provisions which the English army had brought with them were soon consumed,—the winter was approaching,—Edward's barons were not so hearty in

A. C. 1311. his cause as to expose themselves to hunger and the inclemency of a severe climate. Edward was therefore obliged to retrace his steps, without having seen almost an enemy. The few remaining castles fell, by degrees, into the hands of the patriots. That of Linlithgow was gained by a stratagem of a countryman, named William Bunnock, who had engaged to serve the garrison with hay for their horses; and, having concealed eight of his comrades under the hay, his servant led the horses, and he himself followed behind. Soon as the waggon had half entered the gate, the servant cut the traces, and the eight armed men sprung up, and gave a shout, the signal for a party who lay in ambush. The waggon blocked up the gates, so that they could not be shut. Bunnock with his associates rushed in, and easily mastered the garrison. The fortress was delivered to Bruce.

Linlithgow castle taken.

Perth was surprised during the darkness of the night, by Bruce himself, who, partly wading and partly swimming across a ditch, broad and deep, with a scaling ladder on his shoulders, was the second man who mounted the wall. A chosen band followed the example of their leader. The garrison and townsmen were easily overpowered. A considerable booty was found of the things which the captors greatly wanted; and all Perthshire and Strath-

Perth subdued by Bruce.

ern were reduced under the authority of King Robert. A. C. 1312.

The castles of Dumfries and Dalswinton were surrendered to Edward Bruce. Douglas, by an artifice, won the fortress of Roxburgh. Awaiting the evening of Shrove-Tuesday, when the garrison would probably be drowned in the excesses of the carnival, and having selected a chosen band, and provided rope ladders, he completely succeeded in the bold enterprize. The greater part of the garrison were found rioting in the hall,—many were slain;—the captives were dismissed in safety to England. More castles surrender.

Randolph, King Robert's nephew, having for some time vigorously, but vainly, pressed the siege of Edinburgh Castle, at length succeeded, (by the assistance of William French, who, in his youth, had served as a soldier in the castle, and was well acquainted both with the outside and inside thereof.) Randolph, with thirty brave soldiers, having French for their guide, at midnight climbed up the rock by rope ladders, and surmounted the castle wall. The garrison were soon alarmed, and a fierce and desperate combat ensued; but their commander being killed, the garrison fled in confusion. All those castles were demolished, and the circumjacent country acknowledged the authority of the Scottish king. Whilst

A. C. 1313. Bruce made an inroad into England, plundered Cumberland, reduced the isle of Man, and once more brought it under subjection to the Scottish crown. Edward Bruce took the castle of Rutherglen in Renfrew, reduced the castle of Dundee, and even assaulted the strong castle of Stirling; but finding he could not succeed, capitulated with Mowbray, that if the garrison were not relieved by the English before the 24th of June next year, they would surrender the castle to the Scotch. King Robert disliked the agreement, but would not break the engagement his brother had made.

Preparations for invading Scotland.

The king of England, now apparently reconciled with his nobles, and his favourite Gaveston being for ever removed out of the way, began to think seriously of reconquering Scotland, and of succouring his faithful adherents in that kingdom. He summoned his military tenants to meet him on the frontiers; levies of soldiers were ordered in Wales and in the northern counties of England; aid was demanded from the Irish septs, and from the king's possessions in France. Military stores, warlike engines, and armour in great abundance, were provided. A fleet sailed along the eastern and another along the western coast of the island, to aid the operations and to supply the wants of the land army. A vast number of auxiliaries are said to have been

brought from Flanders and Holland. Buchanan makes the number of effective warriors in Edward's army amount to a hundred thousand. Boethius multiplies them to a hundred and fifty thousand infantry, and an equal number of cavalry, besides sutlers, servants, and a great number with their wives and families, who expected settlements in the new partition of Scotland, together with all the loose and disorderly followers, the constant attendants of a great army. These accounts are probably very much exaggerated,—but the assemblage must have been vast. A. C. 1314.

Improved military skill.

The long wars between Scotland and England had tended greatly to improve the Scotch in the military art. They had acquired regular discipline and better armour. Their leaders knew how to post themselves advantageously. On the field they could form themselves, and go through their different evolutions with accuracy. Their cavalry were better mounted and accoutred, their archers, slingers, and spearmen had become more dextrous, and could fight in concert, without rushing singly, and with frantic temerity, on the foe. King Robert himself, his brother Edward, Douglas, Randolph, Stewart, and several others, might well have been ranked with the best generals of that age; but the greatest advantage of Bruce's army

A. C. 1314. consisted in their unanimity, and that they were all inspired with the same impassioned patriotism.

King Robert had summoned all who could bear arms to assemble under his banner at Torwood, between Falkirk and Stirling; and he soon found himself at the head of an army of thirty thousand picked warriors. Fifteen thousand loose and light-armed marauders sauntered near, ready to augment the real or apparent strength of his army. These last he dismissed, with orders to conceal themselves in a certain place in the meantime, and to make their appearance to the best advantage upon a given signal.

Order of the Scottish army.

Bruce posted his army on a gentle declivity; the right wing, commanded by his brother Edward, stretched to the stream of Bannockburn, which winding in a south-east direction, protected, by its shaggy and abrupt banks, the right and part of the front lines. The left wing, extending near to Stirling Castle, was under the charge of Randolph, and was so disposed as to hinder any communication between the garrison and the English army. The centre was committed to the direction of Douglas and young Walter Stewart. Bruce reserved to his own immediate command the rear division, consisting of the men of Argyle, Hebrides, and Carrick. On the lower part of

the field, where he thought it was likely the English horsemen might assail the front or flanks of his army, he had caused narrow but deep pits to be dug, like the cells of a honeycomb, covered with sods, which were supported by sharp-pointed stakes, fit to support the weight of a man on foot, but weak enough to sink under a cavalier armed and mounted. On the highest part of the field is still shown a perforated stone, said to have sustained the king's standard during the memorable battle. A. C. 1314.

The English were now at hand: they had marched quickly, and came exulting in their strength and numbers. The earth trembled under the immense host. That nothing might be wanting to perpetuate the fame of Edward's prowess, he had brought in his train Baston, a Carmelite friar, a poet of his day, to celebrate the victory which was anticipated. The English were not a little struck with the martial appearance of Bruce's squadron, and with the advantage ground which he had chosen. The first cares of the English leaders were to relieve the garrison, and to draw the Scottish army from its favourable position. With these views, Sir Robert Clifford, with eight hundred horsemen, made a circuitous course, and before he was observed, had got between the town of Stirling and the field of

A. C. 1314. encampment. Randolph, chid by the king for his negligence, hastened, with five hundred horse, others say spearmen, to pursue, and, if possible, to intercept Clifford. Taking a shorter way he was soon at his heels, and Clifford was obliged to wheel round and attack his pursuer. The contest was severe and bloody. Both armies beheld the combat with wistful eyes and palpitating bosoms, augurating the fortune of the future battle from that of the present skirmish. The soul of Douglas was on fire when he saw his valiant countrymen like to be overpowered by force and numbers. He, almost in spite of the king, hastened to their relief with a reinforcement; but ere he reached the scene of action, he saw the scale turn in their favour, and halted short, lest he should lessen the glory of his fellow-soldiers, who, having put the English to flight, returned to the camp victorious.

Clifford defeated,

The same day, Bruce riding along the front line of his army, encouraging and instructing his soldiers, and, at same time, reconnoitring the force and order of the enemy, was distinguished by Henry de Bohun, who, spurring his horse, rode hastily to attack the king, hoping to gain immortal fame. The king undauntedly waited his approach. They both raised their battle-axes to strike. Bohun missed his aim; but Bruce's weapon, descending

Henry de Bohun slain.

sure and strong, clove the helmet and skull of the English knight, who fell lifeless in sight of both armies. The Scottish army accounted this illustrious deed of their king another happy omen for the ensuing day, which was to decide the fate of Scotland. Bruce, whilst his officers congratulated him, and kindly blamed him for exposing too rashly his precious life, without exultation or apology, lamented the breaking of his trusty battle-axe. These events took place on Sunday, which was also the feast of St John the Baptist, the 24th June 1314. A. C. 1314.

The night was passed by both armies in anxious expectation. Bruce's soldiers spent a good part of the night in prayer, and at the knees of their confessors. At early dawn, Maurice, abbot of Inchaffray, celebrated mass on an eminence within sight of the whole army, and on their behalf. The celebrant administered the holy sacrament to the king and the nobles, while other priests administered the same to the rest of the army. The king conferred the honour of knighthood on Douglas, Stewart, and some other young nobles: Then, in the most energetic and moving language, exhorted all his host to maintain their ground with firmness, till they should conquer, or gloriously perish. The abbot, barefoot, with a crucifix in his hand, marched before

A. C. 1314. the ranks, and harangued them on the duty of fighting for the liberty of their country; and while he prayed, they all fell on their knees with him. "They kneel," exclaimed some of the English; "They beg for mercy." "Do "not deceive yourselves," replied Ingelram d'Umfraville—"they beg for mercy, but it is "only from God."

Battle of Bannock-burn, June 25. The foremost division of the English army, led on by the Earls of Hereford and Gloucester, advanced in one compact squadron, and began the battle by attacking the right wing of the Scottish host, commanded by Edward Bruce. The centre columns of the English came up under the immediate command of the king himself, while brave Randolph, earl of Moray, brought up his tried troops of the left wing to attack his opposite foes. Douglas and Walter Stewart opposed centre to centre. The battle raged with fury from side to side of the ensanguined field. The din of war deafened every ear, and valour braced every arm.—Bruce's observant eye perceived that the English archers, by their superior dexterity, greatly overmatched the Scottish, and instantly dispatched Sir Robert Keith, with five hundred light-horsemen, upon the perilous service of riding into the thickest throng of the English bowmen, and to disperse or hew them down with the battle-axe. Keith and his company,

taking a circuitous course, came obliquely on the flank of the archers, ere they were aware of his aim, and accomplished his enterprize with complete success. The fortune of the battle now seemed restored to equality, and victory some time hung doubtful on the beam. Bruce thought it now time to conduct into the front of the battle the fresh troops which he had hitherto kept in reserve. The English infantry began to relax, to lose ground, and give way, when suddenly, at the given signal, the fifteen thousand stragglers, whom Bruce had not dared to bring under his array, appeared upon the western heights, in all the terrific pomp they could assume, and with terrible noise and hideous clamour. The English, already fainting, and imagining they saw a fresh army coming down the hill on their faces, fled in confusion. The knights and cavalry, with the Earl of Gloucester at their head, rushed forward to renew the conflict; but their horses were entangled in the pits. The gallant earl fell in his brave attempt to rally the flying troops. Edward himself spurred on his charger to set the example to his soldiers; but Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, hurried him from the field. Sir Giles d'Argentine, a renowned knight, who had served with glory in the Holy Land, refused to flee with the king, and, turning his horse, rode

A. C. 1314.

English defeated.

A. C. 1314. back to the enemy, crying, "*an Argentyr*," and, rushing with impetuosity among the thickest ranks, soon met with the death which Bruce could not help lamenting amidst the rejoicings of victory.

Douglas, with a troop of horsemen, closely pursued the fleeing Edward, until the Earl of March received him within the gates of Dunbar, whence he proceeded to England by sea. The other fugitives were pursued with unwearied activity and insatiable rage: many wandering about the country were slain by the peasants. Bruce behaved with kindness to his prisoners; and the Earl of Hereford, with some other nobles, were, some time after, exchanged for the wife, sister, and daughter of King Robert, together with the bishop of Glasgow and the young Earl of Marre. Mowbray, according to his agreement, yielded up Stirling castle, and submitted himself and his companions to the mercy of the conqueror.

The number of the slain on both sides was, doubtless, very great, but has not, perhaps could not, be precisely ascertained. The victors eagerly spoiled the tents and bodies of their routed and fallen enemies. The armour, the horses, the provisions, and, afterwards, the ransom of the nobles, knights, and esquires, who had been taken prisoners, helped to repay the devastations of their country, and the perils and

afflictions which they themselves had undergone. Edward's treasures and privy-seal, with two of his secretaries, to whose custody it had been committed, fell into the hands of the conquerors. Baston the friar was taken prisoner, and obliged to purchase good usage and liberty by employing his barbarous muse to sing a victory and conqueror different from what had been intended. His poem begins by the following *smooth* verses: A. C. 1314. Baston's Poem.

De planctu cudo metrum cum carmine nudo,
Risum retrudo, cum tali themate ludo.

Such was the event of this formidable invasion, and such was the fruit of the first Edward's toil and treasure to enslave Scotland, for which he oppressed and tyrannized over his own lawful subjects, as well as those whose liberty he invaded.

Soon after the battle of Bannockburn, a body of Scotch troops, under the command of Edward Bruce and Sir James Douglas, made a furious inroad into Northumberland, levied a contribution upon the bishoprick of Durham, penetrated south to Richmond in Yorkshire, and, without having met with almost any opposition, returned laden with spoils.

Robert, now victorious and successful, thought it a favourable time to propose a treaty between the two nations. Four commissioners, empowered to negotiate, were sent

A. C. 1315. from the Scottish king to the English court, then at York; but as the English monarch refused to acknowledge the independence of Scotland, and the royal authority of its king,

Inroad into England. Robert indignantly broke off the negotiation, made another furious incursion into England, where, with unresisted ravage, he laid all waste in his course. The inhabitants of Cumberland bought their peace by a temporary submission and the payment of a large contribution.

Bruce now rewarded the valour of his gallant nobles, by reinstating them in the possession of their ancient estates, or by bestowing upon them the forfeited lands of the English party. Randolph had obtained the earldom of Moray; Douglas obtained an extensive territory in Clydesdale and Selkirk forest; Campbell, a part of the forfeited fieffs of Stewart of Lorn: to Edward Bruce, his brother, the king ceded his patrimonial earldom of Carrick.

Settlement of the succession. A parliament was summoned at Ayr to settle the succession of the crown. The first act was a solemn recognition of Robert Bruce as king of Scotland: 2. According to the laws of feudal succession, and to avoid the danger which, in the present circumstances, might attend the reign of a female, it was decreed, with the consent of Marjory, who was then the king's only child, that if the king died without leaving a son, the crown should go

to Edward Bruce and the heirs-male of his body; failing whom, it should revert to Marjory and her descendants, provided she should marry with the king's consent, or, if after his death, with consent of the estates in Parliament: 3. If the king should die whilst the heir was a minor, Randolph earl of Moray should be regent of the kingdom until the heir came of age. The king soon gave his daughter in marriage to young Walter Stewart. Meantime a new field of action opened to the restless spirit of the Scottish warriors. A. C. 1315.

Ireland, from the days of Henry II., had nominally belonged to the kings of England. A vast number of needy adventurers, English, Welsh, French, &c. under the denomination of English subjects, had settled along the eastern and southern coasts of that island, professing fealty to the English crown, but forming themselves into parties; and, heedless of any law, human or divine, they warred against each other: and all of them harrassed and oppressed the ancient natives, who, by such unjust vexations, and by the necessity of self-preservation, were stimulated to retaliate and revenge the wrongs done them, and the cruelties inflicted on them by their oppressors.

The Irish had always considered the Scotch as descendants of the same original stock; they spoke, with some difference of dialect,

A. C. 1315.

the same language; resembled themselves in many of their customs and manners; were united in clanships similar to their own septs: they warred against the same nation by which they themselves were oppressed and enslaved. They rejoiced and congratulated with the Scotch for their victory of Bannockburn. They had assisted King Robert at a time when he most needed assistance: they courted the aid of the Scotch to assist them in expelling the common enemy, and to regain, as Scotland had done, their ancient independence; and, as a farther inducement, the chiefs of Ulster proffered the sovereignty of their country to Edward Bruce. The invitation was accepted with joy.

War in Ireland.

In the month of May 1315, Edward Bruce, attended by Randolph, Philip Mowbray, John Soulis, John Stewart, Fergus of Androssan, and Ramsay of Auchterhouse, with an army of six thousand brave men, sailed from the bay of Ayr, and, on the 25th of that month, landed near Carrickfergus. They were soon met by the O'Neals and other chiefs of Ulster, who did homage to Edward Bruce as their sovereign. They burned Dundalk and Atherdee: all the English possessions in Louth were destroyed: slaughter and devastation marked their progress. They defeated, by a stratagem, De Bourg and his army, who came to

oppose them. Randolph was sent to Scotland to bring new troops: he returned with five hundred men. Bruce continued his route to Kildare, defeated the English at Ascol in that county. The chieftains of Connaught, and even of Munster, revolted from the English, and joined Bruce. But famine, in spite of all his efforts, obliged Edward Bruce to return, and, in his retreat, he gained another victory, over Lord Mortimer, at Kenlis in Meath. Arrived again in Ulster, a solemn treaty was concluded between Bruce and Donald O'Neal, by which the latter (who considered himself hereditary monarch of Ireland) transferred his rights to the former, who was immediately crowned. But the chieftains, with the septs who had joined him in the south, suffered severely, being unable to withstand the English, and probably Bruce was unable to assist them. Phelim, king or prince of Connaught, with eleven thousand of his vassals, fell in one battle. The garrison of Carrickfergus, after an obstinate resistance, surrendered to Bruce, but treacherously laid hold of the thirty men whom Bruce had sent to receive their submission, threw them into confinement, and again bade defiance to the besiegers. Reduced to the most urgent famine, they first ate the hides of the animals which they had consumed, and, finally, in the fury of hunger, obstinacy, and

A. C. 1315.

Edward Bruce crowned.

A. C. 1315. revenge, feasted upon the flesh of the Scottish prisoners. At length Bruce, ignorant of such brutality, capitulated with them anew, and gained possession of the castle.

Meantime the Scottish king arrived at Carrickfergus with a reinforcement, and the united army of Irish and Scotch, under the command of the two kings, again proceeded southwards. The citizens of Dublin burnt the suburbs for their protection. The Bruces, unable to besiege the place, ravaged the country. They were, in their march, again joined by the chieftains of Munster and Connaught, as also by the Lacys, nobles of English origin, and they advanced to the vicinity of Limerick: But being in the severity of winter, and numbers perishing through famine, though spoils and provisions had been a principal object of their expedition, they were obliged to retreat. They doubtless had acted rashly in advancing so far southward; and though these precipitate marches were somewhat congenial to the impetuous valour of Edward, they bore not the stamp of the prudent caution of Robert. Yet the skill and success of their retreat, and the eluding the vigilance of an army assembled in Kilkenny to intercept their return, were worthy of the wisdom and high military talents of the Scottish king. The dissatisfaction of this expedition, and the urgent affairs of his own

dominions, obliged Robert to return home; he was accompanied by Randolph earl of Moray. They sailed from Carrickfergus, and landed safe in Galloway. A. C. 1317.

Amidst all these struggles and disasters, many of the Irish clergy fanned the flame of patriotism. The English government complained to the pope of their incendiary exhortations. John XXII. enjoined the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel to caution the abettors of rebellion, and to excommunicate such as continued obstinately to encourage it. This injunction of his holiness very much affected and disconcerted the septs. A justification of the war was drawn up, and signed by O'Neal, the hereditary prince of all Ireland, and by the other chieftains and nobles, together with a vast number of the people. This important writ testifies "That the Irish natives had inhabited that island from time immemorial, under the dominion of a long race of kings, and unmixed by any foreign nation: that in the fifth century they had been converted to the Christian faith by St Patrick, sent thither by Pope Celestine: that, in spirituals, they had still continued in communion with, and in obedience to, the see of Rome; that in temporals they never had acknowledged any superior: that they had continued in this uninterrupted harmony until the year 1170, when Adrian

Irish address to the Pope.

A. C. 1317.

IV. an Englishman, in partiality to his country, but in violence of justice and equity, had conferred the sovereignty of that island upon Henry II. the person who, of all others, the least deserved it, and who, for the murder of St Thomas of Canterbury, ought to have lost his own crown instead of acquiring a new one: that the scum and dregs of mankind had been sent to take possession of their country; that, for the sake of peace, the natives had yielded up the sunny and fertile shores and the richest soil to their invaders, and had retired to the mountains, forests, and morasses, the wildest and most barren tracts of the region, where they often dwelt in caves and clefts of the rocks, and yet their enemies pursued them, encroached upon their poor possessions, and forced them, in self-defence, to wage incessant war, in which war fifty thousand individuals had fallen on either side: that, even if the original grant had been just, it had been rendered null by a total neglect of implementing its conditions: the church was to be protected, and it had been robbed, and its possessions violently alienated; just laws were to be made, and the most iniquitous had been framed; morality was to be encouraged, and vice suppressed, whereas a set of miscreants had been introduced,—men of insatiable avarice, of savage cruelty, of basest treachery, and of such

consummate wickedness as to be the bane of society, and who publicly taught that it was no more criminal to murder an Irishman than to kill a dog: that they themselves had taken up arms to rescue themselves from the yoke of tyrants and oppressors; that they could not be deemed rebels against a king to whom they had never sworn fealty; that they were free men contending for their rights against their mortal foes; that, for their protection, they had chosen Edward Bruce, earl of Carrick, (who was descended from their illustrious ancestors,) as their sovereign, and hoped his Holiness would approve of their conduct, and hinder the King of England and his subjects in Ireland from molesting them any longer." This memorial was conveyed to the cardinals Joscelin and Freschi, legates in Scotland, and by them transmitted to the pontiff, who seems to have greatly commiserated the sufferings of the poor Irish, and both wrote to the king of England himself, and desired his legates to speak to him in favour of the complainers. Edward replied, that if they had been maltreated, it was without his knowledge, and contrary to his intention, (which might, in a great measure, be true.) He promised to take them under his protection, and cause them to be treated with lenity and justice for the future. A. C. 1317.

A. C. 1317. Meantime an army, led by John Lord Birmingham, marched to attack the Scotch and Irish in Ulster. Edward Bruce, by the necessity of his circumstances and the ardour of his spirit, was impelled to risk his fortune, and hopes in Ireland, to the event of one strenuous and decisive battle. The armies met at Fagher near Dundalk. The battle was desperate and bloody. The numbers and valour were nearly equal, but the English were better equipped.

1318. Oct. 6.

Edward Bruce is killed.

Bruce, with the brave young Scottish nobles, and the greater part of his army, were slain. The lifeless body of Edward Bruce was, by a pitiful revenge, quartered by the English, and distributed in pieces over the country. His head was presented to Edward king of England, by Birmingham, who, for reward, received the dignity and emoluments of Earl of Louth. A soldier, named John Thomson, collected the few surviving Scottish troops, and, embarking at Carrickfergus, with his brothers in arms and misfortunes, landed with them safely in Galloway. The Irish chieftains with their clans, who had invited and accepted Edward Bruce for their sovereign, were, of course, abandoned to the rage of the victors.

The Scotch and English continued to harrass each other, by frequent hostilities. The Earl of Arundel made a plundering incursion from Berwick. He was encountered and

defeated by Sir James Douglas. Another in- A. C. 1318.
road into Teviotdale was chastised by Douglas and Adam Gordon. Douglas made a hostile incursion into the English territories. Neville sallied from Berwick with a superior force. The fortune of Douglas prevailed. Neville was slain. Douglas plundered the country, and returned laden with spoil.

An English fleet sailed up the Frith of Forth. Macduff, sheriff and earl of Fife, assembled five hundred men to oppose their landing. Upon seeing the English already landed, and posted in great force to receive them, they betook themselves to flight. William Sinclair, bishop of Dunkeld, then residing in Fife, upon the first news of the invasion, had hastened, with sixty followers, to defend the coast. Soon as he perceived the ignoble flight of Macduff and his party, he exclaimed in rage to the fugitives, "Whither do you flee? Why do I not hack the gilded spurs from your heels? Whoso loves Scotland, let him follow me!" Thus rallying the flying, and joining them with his own company, he put himself at their head, impetuously attacked the English, slaughtered many, and drove the rest to their ships. The king heard the news of this exploit with much satisfaction, and used afterwards, in glee, to call *Sinclair his own bishop*.

Valour of the Bishop of Dunkeld.

A. C. 1318. John XXII. having lately ascended the papal throne, wishing to distinguish the commencement of his pontificate by terminating the war, which had raged between England and Scotland for upwards of ten years, the pontiff's legates arrived at London with letters of exhortation to each prince, and a bull, in which the pope, by his own authority, enjoined a truce to last for two years, as a preliminary to a permanent peace. Edward, perplexed amidst foreign wars and internal rebellion, submitted respectfully to a mandate which he deemed useful, perhaps had secretly procured. The cardinals proceeded to Durham, and sent messengers to Bruce, with letters from the pope and from themselves. After some delay, the messengers were admitted to the royal presence. Bruce listened with apparent respect to the exhortation from the pontiff; but refused to open the letters from the legates, because they were addressed to "The noble Lord Brus the ruler of Scotland." The messengers observed, that, while a controversy was pending, it became not the Holy See to give to either of the parties a title which might prejudice the right of the other. "But you give me," replied Bruce, "a title which prejudices my right. I am a "king, and acknowledged as such by foreign "powers. I can receive no letters which are

Bull of truce from the Pontiff.

A. C. 1307.

"not directed to me as a king, nor can I give "an answer to your request till I have con- "sulted my parliament. You shall hear from "me after the feast of St Michael."

The legates returned to London, and, long after the appointed time, received an answer signed by Bruce, his earls, and barons, and stating that, till he were acknowledged king of Scotland, he should decline entering into any negotiation either with them or their messengers. The legates, however, determined that the truce should be proclaimed in Scotland, and ordered Adam Newton, guardian of the Friars Minors in Berwick, to publish it to the Scotch. Bruce, with his army, was advancing to besiege Berwick. The friar was refused admittance to the king's presence; but proclaimed the truce in the hearing of the Scottish forces, and, making his way back, was caught by four men, who robbed him of his letters, stripped him to the skin, and bade him farewell. Newton, however, gloried in having fulfilled the object of his mission.

Whether deterred by deference to the truce, or by the prospect of approaching winter, Bruce did not immediately lay siege to Berwick; but an unlooked for incident put that town into his hands sooner than he could have expected. A person of the name of Spalding had been offended by the governor; and be

A.C. 1318. ing besides allied to some Scottish families by his marriage, he resolved to betray the place to the Scotch. He made known his purpose, and measures were taken which perfectly succeeded. The castle soon after surrendered. Bruce committed it, as the chief key of the frontier of his kingdom, to the keeping of his son-in-law, Walter Stewart, who diligently repaired the fortifications, provided it with a numerous garrison, and replenished it from the English territories with all necessary stores, that he might be prepared to defend it against every future attempt of its late masters. The fall of Berwick was quickly followed by the reduction of Werk, Harbottle, and Mitford. Much of the neighbouring country was plundered and burnt; the places that were spared were redeemed by large contributions.

Berwick and other castles taken.

Irritated by these proceedings, the cardinal legates declared that Bruce and his associates were excommunicated, and returned to the pontiff at Avignon.

319. The English barons, now reconciled with their king, deemed the loss of Berwick a national disgrace; and, being exasperated against their hostile neighbours, eagerly obeyed Edwards summons. Even Lancaster, with his partizans, united in the common ardour to recover that important fortress. Edward marched from Newcastle at the head of a mighty host to the gates of Berwick, while his fleet

Edward besieges Berwick.

entered the harbour and blocked up the town by sea. The besiegers, by daring valour and every variety of stratagem, exerted themselves to surprise the vigilance, to master the force, or break through the entrenchments of the besieged. On the other hand, Walter Stewart with his brave garrison were well prepared, and were not unmindful of the trust committed to their well-tried valour. No stratagem could elude their vigilance; to every new assault they opposed fresh resistance, and heightened courage and heroism. Bruce hastened, with what force he could muster, to raise the siege; but, unwilling to risk the fate of Scotland upon the issue of one battle, dispatched fifteen thousand men, under the command of Randolph and Douglas, to surprise Queen Isabella at York, and to desolate the country. The queen narrowly escaped; but while they laid waste the country, the archbishop of York, with the clerical bravery of the times, assembled a host of clergy and of the inhabitants of the country, who, meeting the Scottish invaders at Boroughbridge, afforded them an easy victory. Three hundred clergymen and ten times that number of laymen, fell by the sword or perished in the river Swale. This intelligence soon reached the camp at Berwick. The barons became impatient to return home for the protection of their estates: Lancaster

A. C. 1319.

A. C. 1319. Siege abandoned.

with his partizans departed. Edward relinquished the siege, and tried to intercept the return of Douglas and Randolph; but they eluded his vigilance, and arrived safe at home, to the joy of their king and countrymen.

Truce, Dec. 21.

Edward, wearied with his failures in every enterprise, and humbled in the eyes of his friends and enemies, began to wish for peace, while Bruce as eagerly wished to be reconciled to the see of Rome. Wherefore, waiving the formality of his regal title, a truce for two years was concluded between Edward king of England and Sir Robert Brus for himself and his adherents.

During this suspension of hostilities, King Robert endeavoured to effect his reconciliation with the pontiff. It was more from the clamour of the English than his own inclination that the pope had launched his spiritual anathemas against Bruce and his subjects. Little else was requisite to pacify the Holy Father than that the Scottish nation should sue for his favour, and, with filial reverence, beg to be relieved from his censures. For this purpose a parliament was assembled at Aber-

1320. brothick, and a letter, signed by eight earls and thirty-one barons, in the name of the commonalty of Scotland, was sent by the royal messengers to the pontiff John XXII. This writ is preserved entire by Fordun's continu-

ator, Book xiii. chap. 2, and 3; and humbly states to the Bishop of Rome and Sovereign Pontiff of the Universal Church, "That the ancestors of the Scottish nation, after many voyages, various migrations, and displays of valour, had settled in North Britain, twelve hundred years after the Israelites had passed the Red sea; that they had inhabited that country ever since, under a series of a hundred and thirteen kings of the same uninterrupted dynasty; that though situated on the verge of the world, they had at an early period been converted to the Christian faith, and had been confirmed therein by the tuition of St Andrew, whom the Saviour had assigned them as their perpetual and special patron: that the Scottish nation had always been cherished by all former pontiffs, as being the peculiar charge of St Peter's brother; that under such protection they had always lived free, until a difficulty had occurred of determining who ought legally to fill the vacant throne, when Edward, the father of the present king of England, under the semblance of friendship, had treacherously invaded their liberty, and had oppressed them by such barbarous cruelty, devastation, rapine, and sacrilege, as no language could describe. That Robert Bruce, like another Joshua, or Judas Machabæus, had, under God, freed them from the tyranny of the Eng-

A. C. 1320.

Letter to the Pontiff.

A. C. 1320. lish yoke, by perseverant valour, hardships, and toil, and had, therefore, both by right of inheritance, which they were determined to maintain, and by the unanimous suffrage of the nation, been raised to the throne; but that, should even this heroic and beloved prince swerve from his patriotism, and propose to submit them and their kingdom to the English, they would consider him as the subverter of his country's right, would hurl him from the throne, choose another king, and, as long as a hundred Scotchmen remained alive, would scorn the rule of Englishmen; that liberty they aimed at, and liberty no man of spirit would wish to survive:—That they, therefore, earnestly entreated his Holiness to divest himself of all partiality, and, as the vicegerent of the Prince of Peace, to exhort the king of England, and to persuade him to be contented with his own dominions, which formerly sufficed seven kings, and to allow the Scotch the peaceable possession of their poor country, the extremity of the habitable globe, but to which they were attached because it was their native soil: That they were willing to agree to any terms of peace, consistent with their liberty and independence: that sorry should they be, if (to the dishonour of his pontificate) the barbarous prowess of infidels should, from the discord of Christians, narrow

the pale of the church, or tarnish her glory in any quarter of the globe; but that his Holiness ought to be cautious in believing some who pretended they were hindered from the crusades by the turbulence of their enemies, whereas, the truth was, they thought their profit surer, and their risk less, by oppressing and subduing their weaker neighbours: that He who knew all things saw how gladly the Scottish warriors with their king, if secured against the hostility of the English, would assume the cross, and march to rescue the Holy Land from the profane grasp of the Saracens." A. C. 1320.

This respectful and manly remonstrance is wound up by the following emphatic conclusion: "Should your Holiness, however, still "lend a partial ear to the reports of the English, "and persist in favouring them to our disad- "vantage, we shall hold you responsible before "God for the loss of lives, the perdition of "souls, and all the other calamities which "must result from the prosecution of the war "between the two nations. In as far as our "duty obliges us, we are, and ever shall be, "your docile children. To you, as the vice- "gerent of God, we are ever ready to yield "due obedience; but to God, as the sovereign "king and judge, we commit the protection "of our cause; *Upon Him we cast all our care,*

A. C. 1320. "confident that He *will enable us to act valiant-*
"*ly*, and crush our enemies."

The reader has seen three memorials addressed to the pontiffs, from England, Ireland, and Scotland, within the first twenty years of the fourteenth century; and whoever considers these addresses attentively, and the noble and spirited, yet respectful style, in which they are written, will, I presume, have little reason to believe that these kingdoms were enslaved by the pope's temporal authority, and, perhaps, less reason to rejoice that the influence which the pontiffs then possessed is now lessened; for though it might sometimes accidentally be abused, yet it was generally employed in preserving or restoring peace among Christian kings and princes. But this I say only in a political point of view, for I am well persuaded, that religion would have gained much if ecclesiastics in general had confined themselves to their spiritual functions, and had interfered as little with civil offices, and the intrigues of courts, as did St Peter and the other apostles. The ignorance of the laity at first imposed a kind of necessity of employing churchmen in secular business; and pride, ambition, and temporal interest, often caused the duties, and even the virtues necessary in the clerical state, to yield to the prospects that favoured those passions.

A. C. 1320.

Favourably received.

The letter from the Scottish Parliament made a considerable impression upon the pontiff. He treated the messenger kindly, and promised to suspend, for some time, the process against their king. He also wrote to Edward, advising and exhorting him to a useful and lasting peace. But both kings had weighty disturbances to settle within their own dominions,—Edward from the rebellion of his barons, and Robert from a formidable conspiracy which had been entered into against his life.

In the distribution of rewards, it was difficult for Robert, in the present order of things, to please some without disappointing others. He assembled a parliament at Perth, and bade the holders of lands produce their charters. Many had possessed themselves of estates by banishing the English from them, and had, therefore, never obtained charters; others, amidst confusion and conflagration, had lost theirs. They therefore drew their swords, saying, "Lo, our title-deeds!—by these arms "we won our lands—by these we will protect "them." The king, struck with this unlooked for expedient, dissembled his anger, and praised their valour; but inwardly resolved, when opportunity offered, to make them feel the effects of his displeasure. Nor were they ignorant of his intentions; and resolving to be

A. C. 1321.

beforehand with him, many entered into a plot against his life, and to deliver the kingdom to Edward. Robert, however, discovered their machinations, by an accomplice in the conspiracy; and having intercepted their letters to the English king, convened his nobles and barons, at Perth, under pretence of other business. Having them assembled, and a sufficient guard ready at hand, the king produced the letters, and asked the conspirators if they knew their own signatures. Their silent confusion bespoke their guilt. They were committed to custody. David of Brechin, nephew to the king, was first tried, and, though he had no active part in the plot, yet it appeared he had known of it, and had not discovered it to the king. His silence had probably arisen from apprehension of personal danger; for they had caused him to swear that he would not divulge the conspiracy. He was, however, condemned, and the king hoped that some of the nobles would plead for his life; but as no one interposed in his favour, Robert, though reluctantly, allowed him to undergo his sentence. Gilbert Malherbe, John de Logie, and Richard Brown, were condemned to suffer as traitors. Their friends then most humbly supplicated for their life; but the king replied, "It is now too late. "Yesterday, when my nephew David, who

Black Parliament.

" was innocent in comparison of these, was to A. C. 1322.
" suffer, none of you pitied him, or sought his
" pardon. You, therefore, ask in vain for the
" life of your friends." Then, turning to the executioners, bade them do their duty. William Soulis was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, as also the Countess of Strathern, though she is said to have discovered the plot. Several others were acquitted. These severities struck a general terror, but seem to have abated the fond affection for the king which his subjects had hitherto entertained. This assembly was afterwards called the *Black Parliament.*

Edward, with little success, had been attempting, by means of several Scotchmen who still adhered to his service, to seduce Bruce's subjects from their allegiance; but, in the meantime, one of the most powerful of his own vassals, the Earl of Lancaster, had entered into a traitorous correspondence with Bruce, by which it was concluded that the Scottish king, Randolph and Douglas, with their forces, should join the Earls of Lancaster and Hereford, and should live and die with them in their quarrel.

Treason and death of Lancaster.

Edward, aware of their proceedings, had collected his forces. The Earls, after some resistance, retreated into Yorkshire. At Pontefract, Lancaster wrote to Bruce, and continued his retreat with seven hundred cavalry, in

A. C. 1322. hopes of meeting his allies; but his progress was arrested at Boroughbridge by Sir Simon Ward and Sir Andrew Harclay, who had collected a strong force on the opposite bank of the river. Hereford, in attempting to pass by the bridge, was slain by a Welshman stationed below. Lancaster offered a bribe to Harclay, which was refused; solicited a truce till next morning, hoping that the Scottish army might arrive during the night: he was disappointed; he surrendered, and Edward had the satisfaction of condemning to the block the person who had so greatly troubled his reign, and had had so much part in the murder of his favourite Piers de Gaveston.

Inroad of the Scotch. Edward, flushed with this success, prepared to invade Scotland with full confidence of victory. Meantime, the Scottish army poured suddenly into the western counties of England, penetrated into Lancashire, rapidly spoiled that district; and, before Edward could intercept them, returned safely home laden with immense booty.

Mutual Invasion. Edward, in hopes of wiping away the disgrace of Bannockburn, and re-establishing his superiority over Scotland, with a great army entered the Scottish frontiers: no enemy appearing to stop his progress, he advanced as far as Edinburgh. The Scottish army in retiring had swept the country. The impossi-

bility of obtaining provisions in a desolated country, compelled him to return with a discontented army, which, from want and fury, pillaged the abbeys of Holyrood and Melrose, burnt Dryburgh and some other churches, slew several unoffending and unresisting ecclesiastics, and sacrilegiously violated what was most sacred in religion: but Bruce followed close at their heels with all the military force he could raise, and, hoping to surprise Edward, suddenly appeared before the abbey of Biland where the king lay, took prisoners Henry de Sully and John de Bretagne earl of Richmond. The king fled precipitately to York. The Scotch attacked the English in their camp, and, after an obstinate resistance, entirely routed them; followed Edward to the gates of York, bidding defiance to the garrison, and, in their return, ravaged the country without opposition. A. C. 1322.

It was discovered that Andrew de Harclay (though, for his services against Lancaster, he had been rewarded with the earldom of Carlisle) had been engaged in a traitorous correspondence and negotiation with Bruce, and had probably favoured the inroad of the Scottish army. He was degraded, and suffered the punishment of a traitor. 1323.

At length, both parties, wearied with a destructive war, which had frequently, for seven

A C. 1323. and twenty years, involved Scotland and the north of England in bloodshed and misery,

Truce, May 30. concluded, at York, a truce of thirteen years, which was to continue during that term even in the event of the death of either or of both kings.

The amity between the Scottish nation and the king of France had been happily renewed by a late embassy; and now an event singularly joyful to the king and nation took place. The

Birth of D. Bruce. queen bore a son, to whom Bruce gave the name of David, and soon after convoked a parliament at Cambuskenneth, where the nobles and barons did homage to the young David Bruce, the apparent heir of the Scottish throne; and young Robert Stewart, the son of the king's deceased daughter, Marjory Bruce, was declared to be now removed to the second rank in the order of regal succession.

The king's sister, widow of Christopher Seaton, was given in marriage to Andrew Moray of Bothwell, son of the brave knight of the same name, the companion of Wallace. Soon after died, in the prime of life, Walter, the father of the young Robert Stewart. His loss was deeply and universally lamented.

Death of Edward II. Bruce, ere long, learnt the fall of his rival. It had been the unlucky fate of Edward II. that he could not live without a favourite, and could not admit one without alarming the

jealousy of his barons. One after another engrossed his affection, and still fell victims to the rage of the Lords. At last his wife and son were moved to take arms against him. The daughter of France and queen of England abandoned her husband to become the mistress of Mortimer, a rebel and exile. Edward was forced to flee, was taken, deposed, and cruelly and ignominously murdered. A. C. 1326.

Not long before this time, an English gentleman of the name of Hampton, happening to bestow some eulogium upon Robert Bruce, was checked by one of Edward's courtiers called John Spenser: upon which a quarrel ensued, in which Spenser was slain, and Hampton fled to the Scottish court,—was kindly received by the king, who, moreover, bestowed upon him the lands of Cadzow, which, together with the gentleman's name, were changed into Hamilton. Such, it is said, was the beginning of the family of the Hamiltons afterwards so powerful and so illustrious in Scotland. 1327. Sept. 21.

Another inroad into England.

The Scotch, however, seem to have paid little attention to the truce. Douglas and Randolph, at the head of twenty thousand veteran troops, rushed into the northern counties with desolating impetuosity. Edward III. mustered an army of fifty thousand, and marched northwards, as far as Durham, ere the Scotch were aware of so formi-

A. C. 1327. dable an army to oppose them. The English flattered themselves that they might easily circumvent and destroy the inferior Scottish army. They hastened to get between the Scotch and their own country; and, being directed by smoke which they supposed proceeded from the Scottish camp, directed their march to the banks of the Tyne; but the stream was so swollen by recent rains, that, though the cavalry crossed it, the infantry could not follow. Still the position, movements, and designs of the enemy, were totally unknown to Edward's army. A reward was offered for the first certain intelligence of the invaders. On the fourth day, Thomas Rokesby, Esq. brought notice, that, while wandering in search of the Scotch, he had been made prisoner by them, and had been dismissed to carry the news to his friends, since they seemed eager for a battle.

The Scotch, encamped on advantageous ground, having on front the river Were, and on either flank precipitous rocks, awaited the approach of the enemy. The English eagerly followed Rokesby as their guide, till, coming within view of the Scottish camp, they saw it impregnable and inaccessible. Edward, by knightly challenge and every artifice of provocation, endeavoured to draw the leaders from their position; but they were too cauti-

ous to be so decoyed, and the English foresaw that, should they retire, the Scotch would immediately hang on their rear, and drive them into confusion and flight. It appeared therefore best, by their numerous forces, to invest the Scottish camp, and starve them into surrender by a blockade. On the morning of the third day the English perceived, with astonishment, that their enemies had decamped during the night, and had escaped out of their hands; but it was soon discovered that they had only moved two miles farther up the Were, and were again encamped still more advantageously than before. The English commanders soon placed their camp contiguous to that of the Scotch, on the same side of the river, in such posture that they deemed it impossible for the wiles of their enemy to escape, or for their bravery and discipline to have any chance of victory. A. C. 1327.

Bold enterprize.

In these circumstances, Douglas formed a bold and hazardous design. It was to carry off from the English camp their young king. In the silence of the night, accompanied with two hundred chosen cavalry, he passed through the enemy even to the royal tent, where, having cut with his sword some of the cordage of the pavilion, and the noise of the horses having already alarmed the soldiery, the king's chaplain and household first met the attack,

A. C. 1327. and fell by the hands of the bold assailants; while Edward himself, the chief object of the enterprise, escaped in the tumult. Douglas, with his companions, now hewed their way through the hostile tents, and returned safe to the Scottish camp.

Elude the English. On the following day, the English learnt from a prisoner who had fallen into their hands, that an order had been given for all the Scottish army to hold themselves in readiness to follow Douglas in another enterprise in the approaching night. It was not doubted but the meditated enterprise must be a general assault. The English, therefore, kindled up blazing fires, and rested under arms, every moment expecting the alarm of the approaching enemy. When morning came, with surprise and shame, they perceived that the Scotch had quitted their camp, were now on their march homewards, and almost beyond the reach of pursuit.

Curiosity, rather than hopes of great booty, prompted many of the English to visit the deserted Scottish camp,—where they found two of their countrymen with broken legs, five hundred carcases of venison, some raw hides in which the Scotch had seethed their flesh, some gridirons on which they had fired their cakes, and some thousand pairs of brogue-shoes made of raw hides, and stitched with thongs. All these indications of accustomed

privation and hardihood, served to convince the English how difficult it were to starve, and how dangerous to follow such an army. A. C. 1327.

No sooner had Douglas and Randolph returned home in safety, than Bruce with a considerable force again invaded the English borders. He deemed it necessary thus continually to harrass the English, until they should be forced to accept peace, acknowledging the independence of the Scottish monarchy. One division of his army scoured and plundered the country; another, under the command of Douglas and Randolph, besieged the castle of Alnwick, whilst he himself invested the castle of Norham. Douglas and Randolph left the siege of Alnwick, rejoined the king, who was still pressing the siege of Norham; and it was while he still remained there that William de Denoun came to propose to Bruce a marriage between Bruce's only son David, and Jane the eldest sister of young Edward, as the preliminary of peace and alliance with the Scotch. Bruce willingly listened to the proposal. A truce afforded time for the necessary negociations.

Another inroad.

Proposals of peace.

Commissioners from both kings met, by appointment, at Newcastle, and soon settled the preparatory articles. Edward, in a parliament convened at York, solemnly renounced, with consent of his barons, all the claims of

A. C. 1328. his crown to the sovereignty of Scotland; restored, as much as in him lay, all its rights of dominion and independence which it had enjoyed at the death of Alexander III.; and formally resigned the benefit of all written deeds by which any authority over the king or people of Scotland might have been yielded to the crown of England. There remained little more to be done for the complete restoration of tranquillity, except the formal extension and ratification of the treaty in detail.

It was, therefore, stipulated in this treaty, by the two monarchs, for their respective nations, That Jane, sister to the king of England, should be given in marriage to David the Scottish prince: That a jointure of lands and rents, to the amount of two thousand pounds Sterling a-year, should be secured to the English princess, at her marriage to the heir of the Scottish crown, for the support of her widowhood, if she should survive her husband: That there should be henceforth perpetual peace between the two nations: That the sacred stone on which the Scottish kings had been wont to be seated at their coronation, and which had been carried away by the English, should be restored to the Scotch: That the king of England should interpose his good offices towards the full reconciliation of the Scottish king and his subjects to the Holy

see: That in compensation for these favours, and for the devastation which the Scotch had spread through the northern districts of England, the king of Scotland should pay to the English king the sum of thirty thousand merks, in three annual instalments: That those possessions which had been wrested from the clergy of either kingdom should be restored: That the estates formerly possessed by English subjects in Scotland, and those formerly possessed by Scottish subjects in England, but which before, or in the course of the war, had been forfeited to either king, should, with a few exceptions, remain with the monarch to whom they had been respectively forfeited. A. C. 1327.

Such was the substance of this memorable treaty, which was ratified at Northampton in the month of April 1328, under penalty of two thousand pounds of silver, to be paid to the Pope by either of the contracting parties who should fail to fulfil its conditions. These conditions appear to have been wise and equal, and highly advantageous to both nations:—to England, whose exchequer was drained, and its government unpopular; to Scotland, which, after a war of above thirty years, needed a respite and attention to its internal economy and jurisprudence, to the repose of its monarch, and to 1328.

A. C. 1328.

provide for its tranquillity, considering the tender age of its heirs.

Within two months after the completion of the treaty, young David Bruce received in marriage Jane of England, sister to Edward III. Elizabeth, the consort of Robert Bruce, and daughter of Aymer de Burgh, Earl of Ulster, did not live to see this peace and alliance. She died on the 26th of October the foregoing year, and was interred at Dunfermline. She had borne to her husband, besides Prince David, three daughters, Margaret, Matilda, and Elizabeth.

The king, for some years past, had left the management of the government chiefly to Randolph Earl of Moray and James Lord Douglas. Broken by age, toil, and hardships, Robert had also, of late, been afflicted with a leprosy or inveterate scurvy. After his son's marriage, he led a retired life at Cardross upon the Leven, where he died in the year 1329, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign, and was buried at Dunfermline beside Elizabeth his queen. *

* It appears from a charter of Robert Bruce, granting to Gilchrist Macynar Macay, and his legitimate heirs, the two penny lands in Kintyre, for the feu-duty of furnishing two archers for the King's army, which charter bears date the last day of March in the 24th, that is, the last year of Robert Bruce's reign : It appears, I say, that Bruce was capable of doing business till near the end of his life, notwithstanding the disease he had long laboured under.

A. C. 1329.

Death and character of Robert Bruce.

Bruce had long wished and purposed, as soon as the affairs of his kingdom would permit, as some atonement for past offences, to assume the cross, and repair to the Holy Land as a pilgrim, and as a general, with an army to combat in defence of the Christian faith, and to recover from the infidels those sacred places which the Saviour had sanctified by his birth, labours, death, resurrection, and ascension; but not having been able to accomplish his desire or his vow, he anxiously wished that, after his death, his heart should be conveyed to Jerusalem, and deposited at the holy sepulchre. The gallant Douglas, his faithful companion in arms, undertook to fulfil this dying request of his royal master, which he performed with all due piety and solemnity; and, after having gained great honour, together with several other Scottish nobles and gentlemen who had accompanied him in the crusades, on his return home, was driven, by contrary winds, on the coast of Spain, where he again joined the king of Arragon against the Saracens, and where he unfortunately fell, together with his brave companions.

No name is more illustrious in the pages of Scottish history than that of Robert Bruce. That fickleness and inconstancy by which, in his youth, he oscillated from one party to another, as patriotism or self-interest assumed the

A. C. 1329.

ascendency over his mind, seemed entirely cured, and changed into firmness, by the friendly but keen reproaches of Wallace upon the banks of the Carron. As, from that time, he took the place, so he seems to have imbibed the spirit, and the patriotism of that ill-requited hero. An impetuous heat of temper had hurried him on to the commission of a crime which no provocation could excuse; and, after seizing the crown, rash chivalry and intemperate valour prevailed in him over wise precaution and cool generalship. 'Twas in the school of adversity that he learned to correct his errors; to bear with steady patience the greatest privations, and the pangs of the greatest losses that worldly misfortune can inflict, and to be fit to govern others, after having ruled over his own passions. It was in that school he learned that foresight, caution, and unconquerable perseverance that overcame all difficulties, drew so many heroes to join his standard, and forced that fortune, which had long and severely persecuted him, at length to follow in his train, and crown his enterprises with success. The memory of Robert Bruce will ever be cherished by all true Scotchmen.*

* The industry lately used in searching for the remains of this great king, nd the respect and honours paid them when found, will, it is hoped, excuse the honour and respect which all the professors of Bruce's religion, in ancient and modern times, have ever shewn to the remains of the martyrs and other great servants of God.

CHAPTER XII.

David II. king—Randolph regent—Police of Scotland—Causes of discontent—Revenge of Twynam—Edward Baliol solicited to attempt the recovery of his father's crown, by Twynam, but especially by Beaumont—Death of Randolph the regent—Edward Baliol and his army land at Kinghorn—defeat a small party opposing the landing—proceed to Dunfermline and Forteviot—Scottish camps at Duplin and Auchterarder—Battle of Duplin—Moray's treacherous aid of the invaders—Terrible slaughter of the Scottish nobility and soldiers—The Earl of March's army blockade Perth, but soon dissolves—Sir John Crabbe's fleet defeated by Baliol's in the Frith of Tay—Edward Baliol crowned at Scone—David and his queen sail to France—Perth retaken—Moray's treason punished—Baliol defeated at Annan—escapes to Edward III.—subjects himself and kingdom to England—Edward promises protection to his vassal—Baliol returns to Roxburgh—skirmishes—The regent, Sir Andrew Moray, is taken prisoner—Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, elected regent—Edward's pretexts for war against Scotland—Siege of Berwick—Female heroism—Cruel execution—Battle of Halidonhill lost by the Scotch—Surrender of Berwick—Baliol triumphs—The pontiff and the king of France plead with Edward in vain for peace—Parliaments of Perth and Holyroodhouse—Discord among the nobles—Baliol retires to Berwick—tries to reconcile himself with the nobles—Mowbray joins the Scottish patriots—Beaumont expelled Scotland—Siege of Lochleven castle—deserted—Invasion by Edward III. without success—Athol Lieutenant for Edward—Robert Stewart arouses the friends of King David—Colin Campbell brings his brave clansmen—The inhabitants of Bute rise—The Carruthers's of Annandale join the defender of their country—Thomas Bruce, earl of Carrick, brings a reinforcement—Stewart and Randolph regents—Jealousies of the nobles—Invasion by the English—Flemings defeated—Randolph taken prisoner—Versatility of Athol—Edward returns home with his army—Battle of Kilblain—Athol killed—Parliament at Dunfermline—Sir Andrew Moray again regent—New inroad and ravage by the English—Defeat of Beaumont in Buchan—English garrison drowned—Capture of two Scottish ships—Victory at Panmure—Castle of Cupar in Fife defended for the English by William Bullock—Siege of Dunbar—bravely defended by the Countess of

March—Two English armies defeated—Siege of Dunbar abandoned—Death of Sir Andrew Moray—Robert Stuart elected regent—Teviotdale recovered by Sir James Douglas, knight of Liddesdale—Castles of Cupar, Perth, and Stirling, recovered by the patriots—Edinburgh Castle taken—Sir Alexander Ramsay plunders Northumberland—Defeats Robert Manners and takes Roxburgh Castle—David Bruce with his Queen returns to Scotland—Murders of Ramsay and of Bullock—Inroads—A truce—A quarrel between two Chieftains—Battle of Durham—David taken prisoner—The South of Scotland ravaged—Pestilence and Murders—Robert Stuart regent—Baliol resigns—dies in retirement—New invasion by Edward III.—David's ransom and liberation agreed on—Returns home—Various destinations of succession—death of the Queen—David's second marriage, his death and character. Synoptical review of the 14th century.

A. C. 1329.

DAVID, the only son of Robert Bruce, in his seventh year succeeded to the throne of Scotland, which to govern, in the present circumstances, would have required mature age, untainted probity, profound judgment, consummate experience, and perspicacious policy.

Randolph regent.

These qualities combined in Thomas Randolph, first Earl of Moray, cousin-german to the young king, and who, both by the settlement of the late monarch, and the unanimous suffrage of the nation, took upon him the guardianship of the king and kingdom, and faithfully and ably discharged the office during his life, which was too short for Scotland's weal.

Police of the kingdom,

He was careful to keep the peace with England, and still more solicitous to establish and maintain at home order and tranquillity, which for a long time had been greatly interrupted. He caused summary justice to be ex-

ecuted upon freebooters, or upon whomsoever molesting a public officer in the discharge of his duty. To repress theft, he ordered that implements of husbandry and such like utensils should be left in the fields by night as well as by day, and to leave stables or sheds for herds or flocks unlocked; and if any thing was missed, to apply to the sheriff or magistrate of the place for indemnification. The magistrate might have recourse to the regent, who would make reimbursement from the confiscated goods of offenders. A countryman, wishing to profit of this law, concealed his plough-irons, and, pretending they were stolen, applied for redress, which he obtained; bnt upon the articles reappearing in the service of their ancient possessor, it became evident that he himself was the thief; wherefore he was consigned to the halter and his goods to the fisc (treasury.)

A. C. 1329.

But the elements of a storm were scattered without and within the kingdom, which were soon to combine, to effervesce, and to burst with mischievous effect upon Scotland. Many exiles, from their attachment to the English or to Baliol, had been deprived of their estates in Scotland: some, by the treaty of Northampton, were to have their lands restored to them, and it seems that Henry lord Percy had obtained restitution of his ancient possessions: but the lands claimed by Beaumont and Wake

Cause of discontent.

A. C. 1329. in Scotland, it is probable, had either been confirmed to those who held them before the peace, or had been granted by King Robert or the regent to some persons of high rank and power, from whom it was difficult to recover them; and when the king of England demanded the fulfilment of this stipulation of the treaty, the regent was puzzled about satisfying his requisition.

Edward III. was an ambitious and warlike prince, and, doubtless, wished to recover that sway over Scotland which the prowess and policy of his grandfather had won, and which the weakness and folly of his father had lost.

1330. One Lawrence Twynam, a gentleman by birth, but of a flagitious life, being repeatedly, though vainly, admonished by the bishop of Glasgow's vicar to correct his scandalous conduct, was at length excommunicated: Twynam enraged by this sentence waylaid the vicar on his journey to Ayr, seized his person, and caused him to pay a considerable ransom for his liberty;—but, dreading the punishment of his offence, he fled to France, where he sought out Edward Baliol, who had long resided in quiet on his French estate at Quimper, and excited him, in the strongest manner, to attempt the recovery of the crown which his father had for some time possessed, and not to let slip the present favourable opportunity,

Revenge of Twynam.

saying, that the present king was but a child, and, from hatred to his father, had more enemies than friends: that many remembered and resented the execution of their fathers at the Black Parliament; many were deprived of their estates and banished from their country; others had lost great part of their lands by way of fines: Many English had been bereft, by Robert Bruce, of the lands bestowed upon them by Edward Baliol's father; and finally, that there would not be wanting, in both kingdoms, needy or disorderly adventurers, who, from hope of gain, or fear of punishment, would readily join his standard: That for his farther encouragement, James Douglas being killed in Spain, and Randolph rendered useless by age and infirmity, the Scotch had no eminent leader in whose abilities the jarring multitude would confide, or whose authority they would obey. These suggestions, which, though somewhat exaggerated, were in a great measure well-founded, made, doubtless, a deep impression upon the young and martial mind of Baliol; but 'tis likely that he was much more instigated to this arduous undertaking by the Lord Henry Beaumont, a man of high prowess, ripe in years, and of great experience in affairs both civil and military, and who is justly considered as the chief contriver and conductor of this remarkable enterprise. That nobleman,

A. C. 1330.

Edward Baliol solicited to attempt the recovery of his father's crown by Twynam, and especially by Beaumont.

A. C. 1331. (who was illustrious by his descent from the royal blood of France, who had arisen to great power and riches in England, and was connected with the Earl of Athol and the family of the Comyns in Scotland, while an exile in France, on account of his attachment to the unhappy Earl of Kent, and afterwards when ambassador at the French court) inveigled and stimulated Baliol to become the tool for promoting his own designs. 'Tis clear that Baliol's father had forfeited all title to the crown of Scotland, both by his base surrender of his right to Edward I., and afterwards, in calm retirement, by renouncing all right or claim thereto, for himself and his descendants, in favour of Robert Bruce who had won it; yet it is not to be wondered at, that a spirited young nobleman should grasp at so flattering a bait, especially when so many powerful persons, who meditated a renewal of the war with Scotland for the recovery of their possessions, would, in all probability, easily obtain the concurrence, or, at least, the connivance of the English king, by professing an equal zeal for recovering the claims of his crown.

The Scottish historians* relate, that the king of England, or the exiled Scottish barons, hired a monk, who also professed medical skill, to poison Randolph, the regent or guardian,

* Fordun, Bœthius, Buchanan.

under pretence of administering a remedy for the stone in the bladder, (a complaint with which the regent was sorely afflicted:)—they say that the monk having administered to the regent a slow poison in a drug, hastened to Edward, and boasted that, before a certain day, Randolph would be no more: that the king, upon this intelligence, marched to the borders with a great army: but hearing that a Scottish array was not far distant, dispatched a messenger under pretext of demanding restitution for inroads, but, in reality, to learn who was the general: that Randolph earl of Moray, suspecting the deceit of the monk, from his not returning, and from his own feelings, wisely concealed his pain, and, arraying himself in splendid robes, seated himself before his tent, and, calling Edward's envoy, assumed an air of cheerfulness and health, and answered the message as he deemed proper: that the herald returning to his master, and affirming that he had seen the regent in good health and spirits, Edward rewarded the monk as he deserved, and retreated with his army, leaving a garrison upon the marches. This story may perhaps be a fiction. It is, however, certain that the gallant and worthy Earl of Moray died at Musselburgh on the 20th day of July 1332, to the great grief and loss of the Scottish nation.

A. C. 1332.

Death of Randolph,

A. C. 1332.

Meantime, the associated barons had prepared an array of five or six* hundred warriors clad in complete armour, and mounted on horseback, with, probably, about five or six thousand foot soldiers, more imperfectly equipped, and variously armed. Of this armament, and of the end for which it was intended, the king of England was well aware; but, to save some appearance of decency, he would not allow them to march directly across his confines into the territories of his infant brother-in-law. The barons, therefore, collected a fleet of ships at Ravenspur, a port on the mouth of the Humber. They, most likely, had learnt the glad news of the death of the Earl of Moray before they weighed anchor; for they entered the Frith of Forth on the last day of July.

Baliol lands at Kinghorn.

This fleet continued for several days in the Frith before the meditated descent took place: at last they disembarked at Kinghorn, and, chiefly by the English bowmen, routed a small body of troops who opposed their landing. Sir Alexander, son of Lord Seaton, their leader, was among the slain.

Emboldened by this success, the conquerors advanced to Dunfermline, where they found five hundred excellent spears, and proceeded

* Fordun says, "quingentos vel sexcentos armatorum." Buchanan says, "propior eorum videtur oratio, qui sex millia peditum ei ab Anglo data ferunt." Among the *Gens d'Armes* there were forty German knights, soldiers of fortune, with their attendants, whom Baliol had brought over from the Continent.

to Forteviot, on the southern bank of the Erne, about three or four miles from Perth, while their fleet coasted along the eastern shores of Fife, and entered the Frith of Tay, within sight of Baliol's camp. A. C. 1332.

Proceeds to Dunfermline and Forteviot.

The Scottish nobles were not ignorant of the intended invasion, and, in a convention at Perth, after some jarring debates, chose Donald earl of Marre, nephew to Robert Bruce, for regent. He immediately mustered a considerable force, and encamped at Duplin, on the northern bank of the Erne, opposite to the invading host. A second numerous army was, at the same time, led by Patrick Dunbar, ninth earl of March, from Lothian, by Stirling, to Auchterarder, within eight miles of Baliol's station. Had these armies been unanimous, and guided by experienced and able commanders, they might easily have surrounded and cut off the invaders to a man; for the invaders, though they had already been joined by some of their Scottish friends, were but a handful in comparison of the Scottish forces, whose foolish security, and confidence in their numbers, proved their ruin.

Scottish camps at Duplin and Auchterarder.

Baliol, and his associates, aware of their dangerous situation, were determined to employ whatever courage, military skill, or stratagem could effect, to extricate themselves. They resolved to attack Marre before the other army

A. C. 1332. Battle of Duplin.

had joined him. Sir Andrew Murray of Tullibardine, who durst not yet openly join Baliol, did him more signal service, by fixing a stake or pole by the river Erne, to shew where it was safely fordable. There the invaders crossed the river in the silence of the night, and, finding the greater part of the Scottish army dissolved in sleep, after intemperate riot and revelry, slaughtered them with horrid carnage. The brave young Earl of Moray, son to the late regent, with three thousand men in full armour, met and supported for some time the shock of the assailants, who had the precaution to fix pieces of white linen on their sleeves, for the sake of distinguishing each other in the darkness of the night. The alarm was soon communicated through the Scottish camp. Marre and his disorderly and ill appointed host rushed onward in a confused crowd, so as even to impede the Earl of Moray and his well armed assistants. There was, close behind the camp, a ditch, or hollow swamp, filled with rain water, into which the rushing crowd drove each other, and there they were slaughtered in heaps. The carnage was continued until midday. Many fled to Perth, but, being unarmed, and without a leader, were easily slain or driven away by the pursuing enemy, who took possession of the town, and repaired its fortifications. Fordun and Buchanan com-

Dreadful slaughter of the Scottish army at Duplin.

pute the slain of the Scottish army at three thousand; Boethius says, the slain nobility amounted to that number, and that the slaughter of the common rank was immense. Among the men of superior rank killed, were the Regent, the Earl of Marre, young Randolph earl of Moray, the Earls of Menteith and Carrick, Robert Keith, with a great number of his retainers, eighty of the family of Lindsay with their chief; and the whole family of Hay would have been extinct, had not the lady of the chief been pregnant. A. C 1332.

The Earl of March, with his army, only came in time to see and bewail the slaughtered remains of the army which they had hoped to support. They marched towards Perth, and made a faint essay of blockading those whom they had not spirit or unanimity to assail and conquer. Sir John Crabbe who had distinguished himself at Berwick, came with a squadron of ten Flemish ships, and attacked the English fleet in the frith of Tay, but was defeated, with the loss of all his vessels. The blockading army melted away.

Second army melts away. Baliol's fleet victorious.

Edward Baliol, now master of Perth and all the adjacent country, pursuing his astonishing fortune, hastened to Scone, joining with the associate barons the principal inhabitants of that neighbourhood, with the bishop of Dunkeld his prisoner, and Duncan earl of

Edward Baliol king.

A. C. 1332. Fife, now become his partizan, solemnly placed on his head the crown of Scotland.

Though the power of the Brucian party was greatly injured by the disastrous battle of Duplin, yet their spirit was not broken. The young king with his consort were sent off from the castle of Dunbarton to the court of France, where they were kindly received and entertained by King Philip. Sir Andrew Moray, nephew to Robert Bruce, was chosen regent. The friends of the nobles who had fallen at Duplin attacked Perth, which Baliol had left under the command of the Earl of Fife, and, after some time, succeeded in taking it. Fife with his family were sent prisoners to the castle of Kildrummie. Murray of Tullibardine, who had pointed out the ford to Baliol, was seized, and, as a traitor, torn in pieces by the multitude.

Perth retaken. Andrew Murray punished.

Baliol, in the meantime, was intent on conciliating to his party the southern nobles.—Alexander Bruce earl of Carrick and Galloway, despairing of the fortune of his kinsman, made peace with the usurper. Sir Archibald Douglas, brother of the Good Sir James, being joined at Moffat by William Douglas lord of Liddesdale, John Randolph earl of Moray, and Simon Fraser, with a body of a thousand cavalry, came suddenly upon Baliol at Annan, killed his brother Henry, and many other per-

Baliol defeated at Annan.

sons of distinction. Baliol himself, with difficulty, escaped half naked; and, upon a horse without saddle, fled over the Solway sands to England. There Baliol, in imitation of his father, did homage to the English king as lord paramount of Scotland,—resigned to him, by a solemn written deed, (what he had already promised him,) the direct possession of Berwick, with the adjoining country, and engaged, for himself and succeesors, to attend the kings of England in foreign wars, at their own charges, as often as summoned, for the full space of one year,—he himself with two hundred men in complete armour, each of his successors with one hundred. In return, the English monarch, regardless of the treaty of Northampton, and of his close affinity with David Bruce, agreed to maintain Edward Baliol and his heirs in the feudal possession of the Scottish throne, as vassals of the English kings. Baliol, returning to Scotland, took and burnt the castle of Oxnam in Teviotdale, and took up his quarters at Roxburgh.

A. C. 1332.

Baliol swears fealty to Edward III. of England.

Edward promises to protect Baliol and his heirs as his vassals.

The Brucian patriots were not idle: Lord Archibald Douglas, with three thousand men, invaded the eastern border of England, ravaged Gillesland, but, returning with abundant spoils, was followed and overcome by Sir Anthony Lucy of Cockermouth. Sir William

A. C. 1333. Douglas, knight of Liddesdale, with many more, were made prisoners.

Skirmishes. Sir Andrew Moray, the regent, attempted the perilous enterprize of assaulting the camp of Baliol at Roxburgh. In endeavouring to force his way over the bridge that led to the town and castle, he was vigorously resisted by the troops of Baliol, and, advancing too rashly to rescue one of his retinue, was himself enclosed and made prisoner, though, even then, he would only acknowledge himself to be the king of England's captive. The loss of their regent obliged the estates of Scotland to elect a new one, and the choice fell on Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway, brother of the late Sir James.

The patriots were yet in possession of Berwick, and, foreseeing the coming storm, they endeavoured to make the necessary preparations for a siege. Sir Alexander Seaton was chosen governor of the town: the Earl of March had the command of the castle.

Edward's pretexts for war. The English monarch, that he might have some pretext for war, sent an envoy, demanding the surrender of Berwick, which his father and grandfather had held, he said, for many years. The Scotch replied, that Berwick was the ancient property of Scotland, and appealed to Edward's solemn renunciation of it in

the treaty of Northampton, confirmed by the marriage of his sister with their prince. A. C. 1333.

The king of England appointed the rendezvous of his forces, for prosecuting the war, at Newcastle, on Trinity Sunday. His army marched to Berwick, and began to besiege it on the twelfth day of April, according to Ridpath, but other historians say, with more probability, about the end of May.

Siege of Berwick.

The siege was vigorously pushed by sea and land. A gallant resistance was made by the besieged. Many of the English ships were burnt or sunk: many of their soldiers fell. In an assault upon the fleet, Sir William, natural son of Sir Alexander Seaton, was drowned by failing in a leap from one vessel to another; and, in a sally by land, one of Sir Alexander's legitimate sons was taken prisoner. The garrison long cherished the hope that their countrymen would not suffer that chief key of the kingdom to fall into the hands of their enemies. But each succeeding day diminishing the resources of the townsmen and garrison, Seton was obliged to solicit and accept a truce, on conditions of surrendering the town, unless it should be relieved by supplies from Scotland before a certain day,—which day Boethius and Buchannan determine to be the third of the calends of August, that is, the thirtieth of July,—and of giving hostages (among

A. C. 1333.

whom was Sir Alexander Seaton's eldest son) for the faithful performance of the stipulated surrender.

Lord Archibald Douglas, the regent, was, by a decree of the Scottish states, appointed to lead an army into England, and to plunder the eastern borders, in order to draw off the English army from the siege of Berwick. The fame of the martial talents of Douglas soon collected a considerable force under his standard. They proceeded, with flying colours and glittering armour, to the neighbourhood of Berwick; and their appearance excited no less joy in the minds of the besieged than consternation in those of the besiegers.—The English king, though (according to all the Scottish historians)* the truce was not yet expired, insisted on the immediate surrender of the town, otherwise the hostages must suffer. In vain did the governor remonstrate that the day agreed on had not yet arrived, to wait for which the king had pledged his faith and honour. The monarch was inexorable. A gibbet was erected in sight of the town, and Seaton's two sons, the one a hostage, the other a prisoner, were conducted thither; and while the mind and heart of the miserable father were torn asunder by conflicting affections, loyalty to his king, love for his country,

* Fordun, Boeth. and Buchanan.

and his own fame, on the one hand, and natural affection and tenderness for his children on the other, dictating contrary resolutions, his lady, and mother of his sons, with more than masculine courage, and by ingenious argument, confirmed his oscillating mind. She reminded him that they had still surviving children if these should die in so glorious a cause; that she and he were not too old to have more; that these, though they should escape death at present, must soon fall victims to death, accidental or natural; but, should he stain the fame of the family of Seaton, he would entail disgrace upon his innocent race to the latest generations; that she had often heard the wisest men loudly praise those who sacrificed their lives, or those of their children, to the interest of their country; that, if he surrendered the town, he would betray his country, and should be still uncertain of the preservation of his sons; for what trust could be placed in a tyrant who had broken his engagement. She therefore entreated him not to purchase a doubtful, and, at most, a fleeting advantage, by a certain and indelible ignominy.*

A. C. 1333.

Female heroism.

Having thus somewhat calmed the mind of

* The English historians call this story a fable; but it is certain even from the English historian Tyrrel, Vol. iii, page 379. It is clear that Seaton's eldest son was hanged, and it is exceedingly probable that it was before the expiry of the truce.

A. C. 1333

Shameful cruelty,

her husband, the heroine hurried him away to another quarter of the town, lest the shocking spectacle of the execution of his sons might stagger his resolutions.

After the barbarous execution, which shocked even the English army, Edward transferred his camp to Halidon hill, a considerable eminence on the west of the town, rising by a gradual acclivity from the banks of the river, and on the other side and west end having a shorter but steeper ascent. This eminence commanded the prospect of all the approaches to Berwick, and afforded a very advantageous position for attacking an army approaching the town on the Scottish side.

Preparation for battle.

When Douglas with his array first appeared in sight of Berwick, the townsmen and garrison had sent private messengers to their countrymen imploring them to attack the English, to whom they thought them superior in force. And now Douglas, enraged by the barbarous deed of Edward, determined, contrary to the order of the states and to the counsel of the greater part of his officers, to give battle to the English, notwithstanding their advantageous position. He divided his army into four battalions; to the command of three of which he appointed the young Earl of Moray, Robert Stuart, and Hugh earl of Ross. He himself led the fourth.

A. C. 1333.

Edward III. and Baliol drew up their forces also into four bodies of foot, in order to receive and repel the attack of the like number of their enemies battalions. Between the armies there lay a marshy plain, and the Scottish forces had to climb a steep ascent, beyond which their enemies were posted. On the day of St Margaret, Virgin, according to Fordun, that is, the 20th of July, or St Magdalen's day, according to Buchanan, *i. e.* on the 22d of July, the Scottish patriots made an attack against such odds of position that, Fordun says, one of the enemy was equal to three of the assailants. In a first effort, the full-armed soldiers of the Scottish army endeavoured to break through the posts of the English, to where they might be received by the garrison into the town. They were repulsed with great slaughter. The rest of the army, breathless, and somewhat deranged with the fatigue of climbing the steep, were assailed with stones, galled by arrows, and lastly attacked by spearmen and men-at-arms; so that the carnage was immense. Yet still the patriots, considering the liberty and fate of their country to depend upon the event of the battle, rallied and fought with that desperate intrepidity which became the ancient valour of their nation. At length their general fell, struck through with a spear; after which the route became general, and the de-

Halidon-hill, 20th or 22d of July.

A. C. 1333. struction terrible. Ten thousand of the Scottish soldiery fell, and the greater part of the nobility who had survived the battle of Dupplin. Among these, Lord Archibald the regent and general; Robert the Lord High Steward's three uncles, James, John, and Allan; the Earls of Ross, Sutherland, Carrick, Athol, Lenox, and Menteith; the three Frasers, Andrew, James, and Simon; Sir John Graham, Sir Duncan Campbell, and Sir William Tudway. The prisoners were condemned to death; but a great many, says Fordun, both of the nobility and others, were spared. On the day of the battle the town and garrison surrendered; and the garrison and inhabitants were allowed to depart with life, limbs, and goods. The Earl of March and Sir Alexander Seaton were received into favour with the English king, by swearing fealty to him. To the former he gave letters of protection for his person and estates, but obliged him to repair, at his own expense, the castle of Dunbar, and to admit into it an English garrison.

Surrender of Berwick.

Baliol now led into Scotland an army of 26,000 men; and such was the general consternation of King David Bruce's party, that no resistance was made to Baliol; and the whole kingdom might be said to be reduced, except the castles of Dunbarton, Lochleven, Kildrum-

mie, Urquhart, and the fortalice in the isle of Lochdoun, between Galloway and Carrick. A. C. 1333.

The pontiff and the king of France sent legates to Edward king of England, to try, if possible, to render him more lenient towards the Scotch, and to endeavour to reconcile the contending kings with each other; but the tide of fortune ran too high with Edward to listen to any proposals, and he refused to admit the envoys into his presence.

Edward disregards the pleadings of the pontiff and the king of France.

After Michaelmas, Edward Baliol held his parliament at Perth. The exiled adventurers did homage, and were restored to the possession of the estates which they claimed, as others did for the lands granted them in reward of their services: but many rival claims could not be easily adjusted; and the minds of many of the Scottish barons were yet wavering and irresolute. Their feelings and passions were in too great ferment and agitation for steady faith or calm decision. The supremacy of the English crown especially, and the dependence of that of Scotland, was a hard pill to swallow, and even a delicate question to propose in a Scottish parliament. Nevertheless, in a second parliament, held at Holyrood- 1334.
house in the month of February following, Baliol procured the ratification of all his engagements with the king of England. The feudal supremacy, the service in the English

Parliaments of Perth and Holyrood.

A. C. 1334.

wars with France, the final surrender of the town and territory of Berwick to the king of England, was granted. The concession was even so enlarged as to include the forests of Jedburgh, Selkirk, and Ettrick, the counties of Roxburgh, Peebles, Dumfries, and Edinburgh, with the constabularies of Linlithgow and Haddington, and all the towns within these territories. Baliol soon after, at Newcastle, did homage to the English king for the remainder of his curtailed kingdom; over which he began to exercise his authority, and to regulate anew its jurisprudence.

Homage of vassalage.

Discord among the English.

There had arisen, even at the first parliament at Perth, among the English nobles, a collision of interests, which created great enmity and produced various events. The Mowbrays had obtained grants of land in Scotland from the first Edward, which lands, during various changes of government, had been lost and again recovered. John Mowbray possessing these lands had lately died without male issue. Alexander his brother claimed the inheritance, as falling to him in preference to the daughters of the deceased. Powerful nobles of the English faction espoused the cause of the ladies. Those were David Hastings Comyn, now Earl of Athol, Richard Talbot, with the most eminent of the barons who had followed Baliol from England, and, especially, Henry

de Beaumont earl of Buchan, who had married one of the daughters. Baliol decided in favour of Alexander Mowbray, who obtained infeoffment, and the disappointed nobles forsook Baliol's court in disgust. Talbot chose to retire to England. On his road, in Lothian, he was intercepted by a party attached to King David, who, having slain the knights of his retinue, carried himself prisoner to the castle of Dunbarton. Beaumont hastened to Buchan, and fortifying himself in the castle of Dundarg, seized the whole or a part of the disputed lands, and added to his domains all the adjacent country. David Hastings Comyn entrenched himself in the fortresses of his strong and extensive country of Athol, and prepared himself to resist force if offered. Baliol, thinking himself unsafe in his kingdom, after being deserted by men of such power and influence, retired to Berwick. To regain the friendship of the offended lords, he agreed to reverse the sentence in favour of Mowbray, and to admit Beaumont's title to the contested lands. To reconcile Athol, he made a grant to him of the great estates of the late Robert, High Steward of Scotland. To conciliate Richard Talbot, he promised to pay at his own expence the ransom of his liberty. Mowbray, now incensed to the highest degree by this capricious

A. C. 1334.

1335.

A. C. 1135. revokement of Baliol's former judgment, deserted a master whom he now hated and despised; and as Sir Andrew Moray, the former regent for King David, had just regained his liberty by a great ransom, and was still heartily attached to the Brucian cause, Mowbray eagerly associated with him. Another Mowbray, the governor of Roxburgh, revolting from the English king, followed the fortunes of his kinsman. These Brucian patriots still increasing, shewed themselves in Buchan, in such force that, besieging Beaumont in his castle of Dundarg, they obliged him to surrender, and permitted him to retire into England.

Mowbray joins the Brucians.

Beaumont driven away.

Castle of Lochleven besieged.

Lochleven castle, a strong fortress possessed by the subjects of Bruce, was besieged for Baliol. As it was not easily accessible, being seated in an islet in the lake, the besieger John de Striveling endeavoured to inundate it, by making an artificial mound at the outlet, and swelling the waters of the lake. Fortunately for the besieged, the festival of St Margaret called away a great part of the besiegers to Dunfermline, either to attend the church or the market held at the same place. Allan de Vieuxpont, the commander, seizing the opportunity, dispatched some trusty soldiers, who, in the silence of the night, whilst the guards were asleep, succeeded in perforating the mound in several places. The pent-up waters

break through and widen the breaches,—the torrents rush with impetuosity,—tents, half-wakened soldiers, stalls, cattle, &c. are involved in the whelming inundation, and swept to the sea. Allan Vieuxpont, or Auld-briggs' Men, assail, with loud clamour, the scattered remains of the besiegers, who take to their heels with all possible speed. Allan and his garrison collect the spoils and ample provisions for a long siege.—Another sally against an English garrison at Kinross succeeds equally well. The fort is taken and demolished.—Striveling, at his return from Dunfermline, beheld the ruined work with vexation and rage, and indignantly vowed never to desist from his enterprise until he razed the castle to the ground and put the garrison to the sword; but Striveling's oaths proved as ineffectual as his prowess and invention. He was obliged to abandon the undertaking. A. C. 1335.

Invasion.

Meantime King Edward invades Scotland with a great army, while his fleet enters the Forth; but the fleet being assailed by a storm, and partly dashed on the rocks, partly damaged by the tempest, returned home, less enriched by booty than hurt by the elements. The land-forces advanced as far as Glasgow. There Edward held a council with the nobles of his party, and supposing that there was neither army nor leader remaining of his adver-

A. C. 1335.

Athol, Lieutenant.

saries, imagined his presence was no longer necessary. Wherefore, leaving David earl of Athol as his lieutenant, he returned to England, taking Baliol alongst with him, of whose warlike talents he had no high opinion.

Athol first seized the ample domains of the Stewart family, which comprehended Bute, Arran, Renfrew, and a considerable part of Kyle and Cunningham. Over these and the neighbouring territories he appointed Adam Lilly sheriff. He then took possession of the districts of Moray and Buchan; and although he was amassing a fortune beyond what became a subject, yet he made all his seizures in a diplomatic capacity, in the name of the king of England and of Edward Baliol king of Scotland.

Essay of Stewart.

Although nobody now, says Buchanan, except children at their play, durst mention King Bruce, yet Robert Stewart, who had hitherto absconded in Dunbarton castle, thought it a fit opportunity, in the absence of Athol, to make an attempt to rally the faithful friends of his sovereign, and to regain the rights of his family. Having communicated his purpose to the powerful family of Campbell in Argyleshire. he was joined at Dunoon, a castle in Kyle, by Colin, the chief of the Campbells, with four hundred brave followers of that clan; and they began by taking that

fortress of Dunoon. The glad news soon reached the inhabitants of Bute, who rose in a body to hasten to the heir of their ancient lords. Lilly the sheriff mustered all the forces he could raise to stop their journey. The multitude, who were mostly unarmed, and who had assembled rather in a sudden transport than with any concerted plan, were somewhat intimidated at the rencounter of these armed militia, and betook themselves in a body to the top of a neighbouring hill, which, though barren and wild, afforded them excellent arms, by an abundance of round manageable stones, which, from their advantageous ground, they so dexterously plied upon the pursuing enemy, that the foot of the hill was soon bestrewed with the mangled bodies of Lilly and a considerable part of his troops: the rest fled with precipitation. The Brucians armed themselves with the weapons of their slain foes: They took prisoner John Gilbert, the captain of the castle of Bute, and the surrender of that garrison followed the sanguinary victory of the hill.

A. C. 1335.

Loyalty of the Brucians

* Soon as the rumour of this rallying point

* "Crebescente quotidie rumore arridentis fortunæ juvenis Senescalli "Scotiæ, Willelmus de Carrutheris cum fatribus, nepotibus ac cognatis "suis, probis viris et probatis Scotis, qui ad partem regis Angliæ pro nulla "amissione temporalium deflecti potuerunt; quique in valle de Anandia la-"titantes, et in maxima penuria, tanquam silvestres, hinc inde vagantes, "sese demum unanimes quasi examen apum congregantes, spectabili satis "cuneo se committunt Senescallo, qui de eorum adventu Jocundatus," &c. *Fordun*, Lib. xiii. cap. 32.

A. C. 1335. reached Annandale, William Carruthers, a gentleman of that district, together with his brothers, nephews, and kinsmen, untainted, honourable, and genuine Scotchmen,* whom no loss of property nor prospects of better fortune could ever induce to bend under the English yoke, and who had for some time led a wandering and forlorn life, subsisting upon what the forest or the stream afforded them, assembling, says Fordun, unanimous as a swarm of bees,—flew to the standard of Robert, and brought a gallant reinforcement to the seneschal of Scotland. Robert received them with great gladness; and his joy was soon increased by the accession of Thomas Bruce earl of Carrick, with the choice of the men of Kyle and Cunningham. Moreover, John Randolph, the young Earl of Moray, just arrived from France, brought lively hopes of auxiliary troops from that ancient ally. The tall, vigorous, and handsome person of young Stewart, just advancing to manhood,—his engaging address, affability, modesty, and generosity, gained all hearts. With this respectable army, and the assistance of

They fly to the standard of R. Stewart.

* It is highly probable that this family, so patriotic and so attached to the Brucian interest, recovered their possessions in Annandale, and were amply rewarded, when David Bruce generously recompensed the services of his friends. The ancient families of the name of Carruthers in Annandale and its vicinity are doubtless the descendants of these brave men, and particularly the *Duchus* or ancient family of Holmains; from which family the author of these pages has the honour of being descended.

Godfrey Ross, sheriff of Ayr, Robert soon conciliated to his party Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham. The inhabitants of Renfrew willingly returned to the Stewarts, their ancient lords. The vassals of Sir Andrew Moray induced the rest of Clydesdale, partly from friendship, and partly from necessity, to join the common interest. A. C. 1335.

To give these promising beginnings the better appearance of lawful authority, this extensive coalition elected as joint regents of Scotland for David Bruce, the popular Robert Stewart, the lawful heir of the crown failing the male issue of David, and John Randolph, the worthy son of his revered and illustrious father, and the cherished successor of his renowned brother. Randolph, with a chosen band, proceeded to the north, where vast numbers, weary of the English rule, flocked to him from all quarters. Comyn earl of Athol, terrified by this sudden defection, fled to Lochaber. Thither Randolph pursued him; and having hemmed him in, and reduced him to the greatest straits, forced him to surrender and swear fealty to King David. Unfortunately, he gave such credit to his promises and oath as to leave him his substitute. But the subtle and versatile genius of Comyn could well feign an ardent zeal for the Brucian cause. Randolph, however, warned him of his

A. C. 1575. danger if he relapsed, and returned to Lothian, where he met his old friend William Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, returned from England, and, by the slaughter of his foes, avenging the horrors of his long imprisonment. Sir Andrew Moray, formerly regent, and who was captured at Roxburgh, had also got home again. Generals were not now wanting; for, besides the above-mentioned, there were Patrick earl of March, Alexander Moubray, lately liberated, and Alexander Ramsay, deemed one of the most expert warriors of the age.

Jealousies of the nobles.

The regents summoned a meeting of the barons of the Brucian party; Buchanan says at Perth, others at Dairsy in Fife: but jealousies and private heart-burnings marred their counsels. Douglas, knight of Liddesdale, accused Comyn of being the cause of his protracted imprisonment. Robert Stewart, inveigled by the wiles of Comyn, leaned to his side. The rest of the nobles favoured Douglas. Comyn bringing to the meeting a strong guard excited suspicion, not without cause. No plan of operation could be formed.

Soon after, Edward, bringing Baliol along with him, invaded Scotland with an army of fifty thousand troops, and proceeded to Perth, plundering and laying waste the country, while a fleet of a hundred and eighty sail entered the frith of Forth. Robert Stewart fall-

ing sick, Randolph was left alone to manage matters at this critical moment. Not daring to risk a decisive battle with unequal force, he divided his troops to harrass the enemy by skirmishes. A. C. 1335

A body of Flemish auxiliaries, conducted by Guy count of Namur, or, according to Boethius and Buchanan, Count of Guelderland, coming to join Edward at Perth, were intercepted and encountered by the Earls of Moray and March near Edinburgh. They made a brave resistance; but Sir William Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, coming to the assistance of his countrymen, the Flemings were overcome. Among the slain was found a female warrior, who, in the beginning of the combat, had challenged Richard Shaw, a Scottish esquire, and the combatants had fallen by mutual wounds. Randolph set the prisoners at liberty without any ransom, because their leader was a kinsman of Philip king of France. He, however, caused them to swear not to bear arms against Scotland during the present war. Randolph carried his chivalry so far as to accompany the Count and his followers, with a guard, to the confines of England, but paid dear for his complaisance: for, falling in with a strong party of the enemy, he was taken prisoner and carried to Edward at Perth. The person of the Earl of Moray was accounted a valuable

Flemings defeated.

Randolph prisoner.

A. C. 1335. prize, and he was conveyed from one castle in England to another, to render plots for his escape more difficult, and his captivity was of long duration. Many of the partizans of Bruce now submitted themselves to the English monarch, and to Baliol. Even the young Stewart, it is asserted, deceived by Athol's counsels, gave in to that cause. Athol himself pretended, that the purpose of his former revolt was, merely, the better to promote the service of the monarchs to whom he now returned; and promised, with great confidence, soon to bring all the Scottish nobles to follow his example, and to own Baliol for their king, and Edward for their lord paramount. He had, therefore, all his estates in Scotland and England restored to him; and was even appointed lord-lieutenant, the better to effect what he had promised.

Edward now found it difficult to maintain any longer his army, both because the Scottish army and people, in retiring to their mountains and fastnesses, had taken along with them all the cattle and provisions which they could transport, and destroyed the remainder; and because he had received no supplies from his fleet, which, sailing into the Forth, had sacrilegiously plundered the church and monastery of St Columba, in the isle of Æmona;* but being soon overtaken by a tempestuous gale,

* Inchcolme.

A. C. 1335.

Sea storm.

some of the vessels, with great difficulty, gained the desert island of Inchkeith; others were scattered and sorely damaged by the waves and weather. Soon as the calm returned, the seamen, attributing their sufferings and danger to their guilt, carried back their ill-gotten spoil to the sanctuary which they had robbed, and, having made what atonement they could for their crime, steered homeward the best way they could.

Edward returns to England.

Edward being called home, therefore, by the want of subsistence in Scotland, and by still greater prospects of ambition on the continent, Athol, to show his zeal for Edward and for Baliol his vassal-royal, exercised a cruel tyranny upon the opposite party: so much the more inexcusable, as he had been treated with such lenity by them a few months before.

There were now especially three heroes of high rank, whom neither promises nor threats could gain to the English cause. These were Patrick earl of March, Sir William Douglas of Liddesdale, and Sir Andrew Moray. These, while Comyn was actually besieging the castle of Kildrummie, the possession of Moray, and the residence of his wife and children, uniting their forces, which only amounted to eight hundred men, marched to attack the besieger, whose troops were computed at three thousand, but were indifferently accoutred,

A. C. 1335. and not greatly attached to their leader. Moray was, however, joined by John Craig, with three hundred men from the castle. Athol left the siege on the approach of the enemy, and met them in the neighbouring forest of Kilblain. The valour and skill of the Brucians prevailed. Comyn, despairing of quarter, fell, furiously fighting, and Scotland was freed from the cruelty, ambition, and wiles of a crafty and fickle young baron. The best of his army were killed, either in the action or in the flight.

This victory greatly raised the spirits of Bruce's adherents: but a truce between England and Scotland being negociated by the ambassadors of the pope and those of the king of France, the Brucian nobility took advantage of that leisure to convene a parliament at Dunfermline, and, unanimously, again conferred the office of regent upon Sir Andrew Moray, which he had formerly lost by being taken prisoner at Roxburgh. When the truce expired, the scattered partizans of David Bruce descended from their mountains and fastnesses, to join the gallant champions of their country. They proceeded to besiege the castle of Lochindores or Lochindorp, in Banffshire, which was held by the widow of the late David Comyn earl of Athol; but that lady forseeing the danger, had written to Ed-

Parliament at Dunfermline.

ward of England for assistance, which was soon sent. Some say that Edward marched to her aid, raised the siege, reinforced the fortress, and brought off the countess, with her female attendants. Edward then ravaged the regent's county of Moray, but spared the convent at Elgin and its beautiful church. He laid the city of Aberdeen in ashes. He fortified and garrisoned the castles of Dunnotar, Kynef, and Lauriston. Returning to Perth, he made additions to its fortifications, the expense of which he obliged six of the neighbouring monasteries to defray, &c.

A. C. 1335.

New inroad and ravage by the English.

Edward supposing the Scottish power annihilated, departed for England, and Beaumont, re-established in Buchan, thought then was the time to avenge the death of the Earl of Athol, his son-in-law, and cruelly slaughtered indiscriminately all whom he could find who had fought in the battle of Kilblain; but the regent besieged him in the castle of Dundarg, forced him to surrender, and obliging him to swear never more to carry arms against Scotland, dismissed him to England. Then proceeding in his victorious career, reduced all the fortresses beyond the Forth, except Cupar and Perth; made even an inroad into England, whence he brought considerable booty to relieve his troops at home. Owing to the frequent incursions and devastation of the

Defeat of Beaumont.

A. C. 1336. country, and the impossibility of agriculture, there was such famine in Scotland that the English deserted the well fortified castle of Cupar for want of provisions. They cudgelled a fisherman to consent to take them into his boat, and waft them over the frith into Lothian. He conveyed them to a high sandy ridge, which, being dry at ebb-tide, the garrison soldiers, thinking themselves on shore, disembarked, and the boatman sheered off. They soon discovered their error, and shouted aloud, but in vain, upon the vengeful and unrelenting boatman to return: he left them to perish in the waves.

English garrison drowned,

Sea battle, and capture of two Scottish vessels,

About this time, two vessels, under the command of John bishop of Glasgow, with a number of exiles, who had formerly retired to France from the power of Baliol and the English, and who were now on their way home bringing military stores and money, the presents of the French king to his Scottish allies, were met at sea by the English admiral John de Ross. A desperate conflict ensued. The bishop of Glasgow was mortally wounded; the Scottish vessels were taken, with the supplies which were anxiously expected in Scotland; and many noble youths, the hopes of the most eminent Scottish families, were captured.

Whilst the English, commanded by Henry de Montfort, were in pursuit of the regent,

and were laying waste the country in Angus, Gowry, and Mearns, &c. Sir Andrew, having collected a considerable force, encountered the enemy at Panmure, and gained a complete victory. The English lost their general, with four thousand slain, a great proportion of whom were noble youths. Sir Andrew pushed his victory, took and destroyed all the fortresses in Fife, except Cupar, which was again garrisoned by Scotchmen who had joined Baliol and the English party, and who had for their commander William Bullock a priest, who, with many of his order in those days, seems to have had greater vocation and talents for the military than for the clerical profession. It was by his skill and vigour that this fortress resisted all the efforts of the regent and other loyal nobles of King David at that time.

A. C. 1337.

Battle of Panmure.

Lord Montague and the Earl of Arundel, who then commanded the English forces in Scotland, laid siege to the castle of Dunbar, which was a great eye-sore to their party, as disturbing the intercourse between Berwick and Edinburgh, and affording a convenient and safe reception for the aids and supplies from France. The English army surrounded it by land, while their ships, amongst which were two Genoese gallies, blocked it up by sea. The lord of it, Patrick earl of March, choosing the field as a nobler scene for the feats of war,

Siege of Dunbar.

A. C. 1337. intrusted his castle to the keeping of his countess, who seems more renowned as a heroine than a beauty, as her common appellation was *Black Agnes of Dunbar*. She was a daughter of the excellent regent, Thomas Randolph earl of Moray, sister to the earl who had fallen at Duplin, and to the present earl, who was still prisoner in England. These circumstances might well inspire this lady with resentment againt the English; and such were her vigilance and prowess, as no art could surprise or danger dismay. Whilst the enemy urged the siege, and employed the most powerful engines to shake and batter the walls, the countess would oft-times, from the battlements, address the assailants with taunts and scoffs, or contemptuously send one of her maids, splendidly dressed, to wipe away, with a white handkerchief, the dust with which their machines had bespattered the walls. When the vast engine, called a sow, was advancing to the walls, she called to the besiegers in scorn, that *their sow was going to farrow;* and immediately, from an ingenious machine, launched and let down a huge fragment of a rock, which dashed the sow in a thousand pieces, and crushed to death many of the hapless soldiers who conducted it.

1338. During this protracted siege, two reinforcing armies of English entered Scotland. The leader of one of these bands was Richard de

Montfort, who was encountered by Laurence Preston, at the head of a smaller number. Montfort was killed, with many of his men; the rest were taken prisoners: but Preston dying of the wounds he had received in the conflict, his victorious followers, to revenge their general's death, barbarously put their prisoners to the sword. The Lord William Keith of Galston attacked the Lord Richard Talbot, the leader of the other numerous body of English. These, with their leader, were driven to seek shelter in an islet of a lake, and were all made prisoners. Talbot was obliged to pay two thousand pounds for his ransom.

A. C. 1338. Two English armies defeated.

The siege of Dunbar still continued with persevering efforts, and still the brave defenders held out; but at length would have been obliged to surrender for want of provisions, had not the gallant Sir Alexander Ramsay relieved them by a bold and dexterous enterprize. Putting on board of a light vessel a supply of provisions and warlike stores, with forty chosen companions, he sailed, in a dark night, from the contiguous rock of the Bass, and passing unobserved through the line of the enemy's ships, introduced the whole by a postern gate adjacent to the sea, and brought a timely relief to the garrison. Then with his brave companions, joined by a part of the garrison, made a sally upon the besiegers, equally

A. C. 1538.

brisk and unexpected, in which they did no small execution. Ramsay next night completed the glory and success of his atchievement, by passing out from the castle in the same way, and with the same safety wherewith he had entered it.

The Lord Montague, who was, about this time, created Earl of Salisbury, foiled in his attack by force, endeavoured to make his way into the fortress by bribing the porter, who turned the scheme into a snare for the contriver. The door was opened, and Salisbury rushing in, was forced back by John Copland, a squire in his train. Immediately the portcullis was let down, including Copland, who remained a prisoner instead of his master, for whom the trap was intended. The countess being at hand, waiting the event, cried in derision, *Adieu, Monsigneur Montaigú*. The English, despairing of success, raised the siege and marched away in disgrace. The siege had endured from the 13th January to the 16th of June.

The failure of the English in the siege of Dunbar, contributed to animate the courage and increase the numbers of David Bruce's party. Sir Andrew Moray failed in an attempt upon the castles of Stirling and Edinburgh, but Lothian submitted to him, at least a great part of it; and Laurence Preston* was

* Probably the son of the Laurence Preston formerly mentioned, who died of his wounds.

appointed sheriff of it. Sir Andrew went north to visit his estates in Ross-shire, where he sickened and died, and was buried at Rosemarkie, universally regretted; for, during the two years and a-half of his regency, he had atchieved as many brave actions as might have seemed sufficient to have employed the life of a great general. New heroes continually arose for the deliverance of their country.

A. C. 1338.

Death of Sir Andrew Moray.

Robert Stewart, now no longer misled by the pernicious and subtle counsels of the fallen Athol, was chosen to succeed Sir Andrew Moray in the regency.

About this time Sir Alexander Ramsay made a new inroad into Northumberland. The eminence of Ramsay's military skill was so famous, that scarcely any young warrior was deemed completely versant in his art without having been sometime under the tuition of that celebrated general. A considerable body of young volunteers having thronged to his standard, he ravaged and plundered Northumberland. Returning with much booty, he was pursued by a numerous army collected from the territories and castles of that county, under the command of Robert Manners. He drew the English into an ambuscade, killed many, took more prisoners, and saved his booty.

Among the prisoners was the commandant of Roxburgh; and Ramsay, learning that the

A. C. 1538. Roxburgh castle taken.

greater part of the garrison had followed their captain, in pursuit of him, seized the favourable opportunity of attacking that fortress, and succeeded in taking it. Others say, that Ramsay surprised that garrison by scaling the walls during the night whilst the guards were asleep.

The knight of Liddesdale, by his usual valour and activity, recovered from the English the district of Teviotdale.

Cupar and Perth were now the two fortresses which the Brucians wished ardently to recover. William Bullock, who commanded in the former, although then in the service of the English, was probably not unfriendly to the Scottish liberties, nor is it certain that he was an Englishman. Besides, he was very doubtful of the fidelity of the garrison, as they were chiefly Scotchmen. In these circumstances,

1339. Robert Stewart opened a correspondence with Bullock, and by offers tempting to his private interests, allured him to surrender voluntarily to the Scotch the castle which he had so gallantly defended against their force. The regent next turning his efforts against Perth, found, in the intelligent counsels of Bullock, much assistance in his enterprise. Sir William Douglas seasonably returned from France at this juncture, with five ships carrying a large supply of men, arms, and military stores. Some say that it was Douglas who prevailed on Bul-

lock to surrender Cupar. At any rate, by the joint skill and bravery of these three commanders, and the valour of their troops, with the assistance of the French fleet guarding the mouth of the Tay, Ughtred, the English governor, after a gallant resistance, agreed to a capitulation upon condition of safety of lives and possessions to the garrison, which was honourably dismissed. The regent rewarding the French auxiliaries, permitted them to return home. A. C. 1339. Perth taken.

The castle of Stirling in a short time surrendered to the regent on the same terms as that of Perth had already done. The custody of this castle was committed then to Maurice Moray, the son of Sir Andrew; and the regent, now master of all the territory, towns, and castles lying north of the frith of Forth, went upon a grand progress through all the north of Scotland, to administer justice and re-establish civil order.

Baliol, intimidated with the success of his rival, left Galloway, where he generally resided, and fled for refuge into England. His interest in Scotland was now almost annihilated, and little now remained of the conquests of Edward, his lord paramount, (whose tool he had been,) except Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and a few inconsiderable fortresses.

A. C. 1340.

Edward held a parliament in the spring 1340, to make provisions for carrying on war both against France and Scotland; several of the most considerable English nobles undertook to raise men, and to serve in person against the Scotch. Yet the Scottish patriots had another very prosperous campaign. The castle of Edinburgh was surprised by the following stratagem: William Bullock, whose skill in arts and devices of war is said to have excelled that of almost all his contemporaries, was the author of the plot. William Douglas, William Fraser, and Walter Curry, conducted its execution. Curry, the master of a vessel, counterfeiting himself an English merchant, carried to the commander of the castle two leathern bottles of excellent wine, with some other small presents, saying, that he had a cargo of very good provisions in the frith, and had come to solicit his excellency's protection for the disposal of them: That if he or the garrison stood in need of any of his loading, he would be most happy to serve them. The commander commissioned some pipes of wine, and a certain quantity of sea-biscuit, and promised him admission to the castle at any time. Curry, to give a fairer colour to the deception, replied, that, to avoid the predatory bands of the Scotch, he would come very early next morning.

That night Douglas gave orders to a body of his men to conceal themselves in the ruins of some houses adjacent to the castle, and not to stir until the signal agreed on was given. About day-break next morning, he, with Sir Simon Fraser, Walter Curry, and about ten others of his most resolute followers, disguising themselves in sailors' jackets over their armour, went with the carriages loaded with the wine and biscuits which had been ordered to the castle. They were immediately admitted into the outer court; when Douglas, instantly killing the porter, and seizing the keys which he carried, opened the inner gate of the fortress, which he caused to be barricaded with the carriages, so that it could not be easily shut again. He then blew a horn, the signal agreed on, and which soon brought together his own soldiers and those of the garrison. A fierce conflict and mutual slaughter ensued. At length, with slaying, trampling, and throwing headlong from the walls, the garrison was all disposed of except the governor, Sir Richard Limesi, and six English gentlemen, whom Douglas made prisoners, took possession of the fortress, and committed it to the custody of a William Douglas, bastard brother to the knight of Liddesdale. The townsmen of Edinburgh gladly joined Douglas, and professed their fealty to Bruce. A. C. 1340.

A. C. 1342. A truce was concluded near Tournay, betwixt the kings of England and France, wherein the Scotch, as allies of the latter, were comprehended. The truce commenced the 25th September 1340, and was to last until the midsummer following; but, like most of the truces between England and Scotland at that time, was but ill observed, especially by the borderers.

David Bruce returns from France. In the month of June or July, David Bruce, king of Scotland, with his queen, arrived from France at Inverbervie. The Earl of Moray, who had long been captive in England, having been exchanged for the Earl of Salisbury, prisoner in France, immediately, on regaining his liberty, passed over to France, and thence accompanied David to his native country. Before the king's return, the English had been driven almost out of every part of Scotland, except Berwick. He and his consort were received by their subjects with many loyal congratulations. Young Randolph earl of Moray, Robert Stewart, the knight of Liddesdale, the gallant Ramsay, the faithful Malcolm Fleming, formerly commandant of Dunbarton, William Bullock the skilful engineer, with many other faithful barons, were the first objects of the young monarch's favour, and the ornaments of his court.

David, highly pleased with the success of

Ramsay's capture of Roxburgh, and charmed with his general heroism, made him not only governor of that fortress, but also sheriff of Teviotdale, which last office had been for some time held by the knight of Liddesdale, who, thereupon, was highly offended, and vowed revenge upon the person who had supplanted him. Though a seeming reconciliation had taken place, yet when Ramsay soon after held a court in the church of Hawick, unsuspecting of mischief, Douglas suddenly arrived, and, heedless of the late reconciliation, and reckless of the sanctity of the place, slew several of Ramsay's attendants, wounded himself, and made him prisoner; threw him upon a horse and carried him to the castle of Hermitage, where he was cruelly starved to death. Soon after, William Bullock, being misrepresented to David, was, it seems, permitted to undergo, by David Barclay, the same cruel and unmerited fate. These base murders bred violent antipathies and factions among the Scottish nobility.

A. C. 1142.

Blunders of Ramsay and Bullock.

The king informed of the barbarous outrage committed against the brave Ramsay, threatened exemplary vengeance against the knight of Liddesdale; but Douglas took refuge in the inaccessible wilds of the borders, and seems even to have entered into a correspondence with the English court, until the king's anger

A. C. 1342. had somewhat evaporated, when, by the intercession of friends, particularly of Robert Stewart, by the commemoration of past services, and, above all, by the necessity of the times, David again received him into favour, restored to him his lands, and even the offices of his murdered rival, which, if a present utility, was a bad precedent.

In the beginning of the year 1342, David, rather against the advice of a good part of his barons, collected an army for an expedition into England. The Earl of Moray had the command, and the young sovereign served under him. They desolated Cumberland as far as Penrith, and returned in safety with their booty. Immediately after, another inroad into England was resolved on, in which the king himself assumed the command. The English being inferior in force, did not risk a general engagement, but, by bodies of cavalry, harrassed the Scottish army, and hindered them from plundering the country. Five young nobles, on whom David had lately conferred the honour of knighthood, venturing too far from the army, were circumvented by the English in a morass, and taken prisoners.

A third expedition was undertaken in the fall of the autumn; but the rains so swelled the rivers and brooks, and so softened the ground, that it was impossible to bring on their

provisions and baggage. Therefore, after de- A. C. 1543.
stroying a few castles, they returned home.

The next enterprize of the Scottish army was the siege of Lochmaben; but they were compelled to retire by Walter Selby, the governor, aided by Kirkby bishop of Carlisle and the Lord Anthony Lucy. Edward came to Berwick at Easter, in order to take signal vengeance on the Scotch for infringements of the late truce. A new truce, however, was concluded for two years, to which the king of France gave his consent.

In the fourth year after David's return from France, Edward, together with his brave son, the Black Prince, having won the memorable battle of Cressy, and laid siege to Calais, Philip king of France earnestly requested David to invade England, to make a diversion of the English, and to oblige them to recall some of their troops from the siege. Edward also made great offers to David as the price of his friendship. But the Scottish king, true to his ally and benefactor, convened a numerous army at Perth. Amongst the leading barons who came to join David's army were two Highland chieftains, the Earl of Ross, and Reginald lord of the Hebrides. Between these chiefs there had existed some rancorous feud, and, while they with their followers were at the monastery of Elcho, Ross sent assassins by night,

A. C. 1346. who murdered Reginald and seven of his attendants. The friends and clients of both parties departed,—Ross to escape punishment, and the opposite clan to take vengeance. Many others, fearing a civil war amongst the noble families, drew off. This defection greatly diminished the Scottish army. The knight of Liddesdale, on account of this diminution, and because he understood the English were not unprepared, dissuaded much an invasion of England at this juncture; but, since the murder of Ramsay, Douglas had lost much of his confidence with the king. Attachment to the king of France, the ardour of youth, and the hopes of extending his territories, stimulated David to the meditated invasion. With an army of about two thousand men in armour, and a great multitude of imperfectly equipped, he proceeded, and, in sixteen days, arrived in the neighbourhood of Durham.

Edward himself was in France; but his queen Philippa, with great activity, mustered the military vassals of the crown in the northern counties. A detachment was sent from Calais.

David was encamped at Neville's cross, near Durham, waiting the enemy's approach. William Douglas being sent upon a foraging expedition, and to observe the motions of the English army, unexpectedly fell in with them,

and, after a desperate conflict, was driven back, with the loss of five hundred brave men. This unfortunate beginning did not damp the courage of the Scottish king. His army was divided into three bodies. The Earl of Moray and the knight of Liddesdale led the right wing; the Lord High Steward and the Earl of March the left; the king himself commanded the central column. A. C. 1347.

Battle of Durham.

The queen of England's army was formed into four divisions. The first commanded by the Earl of Piercy; the second by the archbishop of York; the third by the bishop of Lincoln, Lord Moubrai, and Sir Thomas Rokesby; the fourth was led by Edward Baliol. Each of these divisions consisted of about four thousand men. Robert Stewart's column was first sore galled by the English archers. He rushed in upon them with such fury that he soon drove them back upon Lord Henry Piercy's division, and his troops plying that division with their battle-axes and broadswords threw them into great disorder, and they must have been entirely defeated had not Baliol, with a large body of cavalry, attacked Stewart's column, and turned the scale of battle. Stewart was obliged to retreat, which he did in a masterly manner, and without considerable loss. Baliol instantly charged the Scottish central column in flank, while it was engaged with

A. C. 1347. another body in front. David fought gallantly. His brave battalion threw themselves into a circle around him, and sustained the combat until only eighty remained alive with their king. Even in this desperate state, and having received two severe wounds, David refused to ask quarter, hoping still to be relieved by Robert Stewart's division. At last, while seized by John Copland, a Northumbrian squire, he, with his iron gauntlet, struck the squire in the face, and drove out two of his teeth. The division commanded by Douglas and Moray were mostly slain on the field, with their brave leader, Randolph earl of Moray. Douglas, the knight of Liddesdale, was taken prisoner, as were also the Earls of Fife, Menteith, Wigton, and fifty other barons, with the bishops of St Andrews and Aberdeen. The battle lasted from nine o'clock till noon, 17th October.

After this unfortunate battle, in which the Scotch are said to have lost fifteen thousand men, besides many nobles, a new Scottish army could not easily be raised. The English, especially Baliol and Piercy, overran, destroyed, or took possession of the greater part of the south of Scotland. David Bruce was conducted to the tower of London, but not unkindly treated: his queen, Edward's sister, was permitted to visit him. A pestilence follow-

Captivity.

ed the ravages made by the English in Scot- A. C. 1355.
land, which swept off a third part of its inhabitants. Yet enmities and murders still prevailed. The knight of Liddesdale, even while a prisoner, by means of his vassals, slew David Barclay, the knight who had starved William Bullock, and who had since been accessary to the death of John Douglas of Dalkeith. Liddesdale himself, soon after his return to Scotland, was slain, while hunting in the forest of Ettrick, by William Douglas, his kinsman and godson, in revenge for the murder of Sir Alexander Ramsay.

R. Stewart regent.

Robert Stewart was elected regent in the absence of his uncle David. William, afterwards first Earl of Douglas, collecting a numerous band of relations and vassals, recovered from the English Douglasdale, the patrimony of his ancestors. John king of France, who had succeeded his father Philip, sent to Scotland Eugene de Garentiere, accompanied with forty brave warriors, and forty thousand crowns, to maintain a standing army against the English. The Scottish nobles divided the money among themselves, and carried on, in their usual way, a desultory war. The English again ravaged Lothian. The Scotch, in revenge, collected an army under the command of Douglas and the Earl of March. These sending William Ramsay of Dalhousie

A. C. 1356. with a detachment to burn the town of Norham, Ramsay drew an army, which pursued him into an ambuscade, and killed or took prisoners almost the whole.

Thomas Stewart, earl of Angus, and the Earl of March, having collected a good number of ships, and manned them with brave warriors, stormed the town of Berwick during the night, but being unable to obtain possession of the castle, and Edward already advancing with a great army, they plundered and burnt the town before their abandoning it. Others say they capitulated for life and limb.

Edward ordered the fortifications to be repaired, and retired meantime to Roxburgh.

Baliol's resignation.

Thither came Baliol, and made a formal surrender to the king of England of his whole right to the kingdom of Scotland, together with all his family estates in Scotland and England; and, in return, Edward settled upon him an annual pension of L.2000 per annum, with which he passed the remainder of his life in retirement. He died at Doncaster in the year 1363.

New invasion by Edward,

Edward, now determined to reduce Scotland to a state which would for ever deprive it of the power to rebel,—advanced with his army to Haddington, ravaging and destroying the country in his way; but, besides being continually harrassed by small parties of Scottish

soldiers, he found the country destitute of provisions. To complete his distress, a fleet which he expected to arrive in the frith with provisions was, by a violent tempest, dispersed and destroyed. Edward, infuriated by disappointment, wrecked his vengeance on Edinburgh, Haddington, and other towns in his way, without sparing the edifices sacred to religion, but reducing every thing to ashes. The memory of this barbarous and sacrilegious devastation was long preserved, by assigning to that epocha the appellation of *Burnt Candlemas*. Arriving at his capital, he *kindly* caused proclamation to be made, in proper places, within his kingdom of Scotland, That that kingdom should continue to be governed by the same laws and customs that were established amongst them before the kingdom came into his hands by the resignation of Baliol.—A piece of craft too inefficient to conciliate the minds which he had, by his cruel and impolitic barbarity, exasperated to the highest hatred. A. C. 1356.

This year was signalized by the battle of Poictiers, which brought John king of France to London, to be fellow prisoner with King David. In the month of March, the following year, a truce, for two years, concluded at the earnest intercession of the pope, between England and France, in which Scotland was included, paved the way for resuming a nego-

A. C. 1357. David's Ransom. L.66,666 13s. 4d.

tiation, which had several times before been tried without success, for liberating the Scottish king. It was finally agreed upon, by all parties, that David should be released for the ransom of ~~100,000~~ merks Sterling, a burden which, at that time, Scotland was unable to bear. It was to be paid during a truce of ten years, now agreed upon, in ten annual instalments of ~~10,000~~ merks each, beginning at midsummer next. For a help to the payment of this immense ransom, the clergy, by the counsel of the pontiff, gave the tenth part of their income for three years. After all, the inability of paying the stipulated instalments caused great difficulties and disturbances. Many new bargains were made, nor was the whole paid before the death of the king.

David returns from captivity.

David, however, returned to his kingdom, after a captivity of eleven years. The eldest sons of the first families in Scotland were delivered as hostages for the payment of the ransom. They almost all died of the pestilence.

The first act of David, after his return, was the punishment of the leaders of the left wing of his army at the battle of Durham, who, he alleged, had willfully neglected coming to succour him when he was taken. He deprived the Earl of March of a part of his lands, and transferred the succession to the crown

from Robert Stewart to Alexander, son of the Earl of Sutherland, his nephew by his second sister. The Earl of Sutherland, by this prospect, dealt large portions of his land to his friends, viz. the Boyne, the Enzie, Kincardine, &c. to Ogilvy, Gordon, Hay, and Sinclair, which they continued to possess, although, upon the death of the new heir, the succession was again restored to Robert Stewart, according to the settlement of Robert Bruce. David, however, seemed now more attached to the English monarch than to Stewart, and even proposed to his nobles the great advantages that would accrue to Scotland, by constituting Edward, or his son, the heir of the Scottish crown after his death, if she should die without issue. But the proposal was rejected with indignation and scorn. Robert Stewart even raised a strong party to rebel against David for such a proposal against his right, against the settlement of Robert Bruce, and the freedom of the nation. But finding that David had the stronger party, a submission was made, and David wisely pardoned a deed which it was difficult and hazardous to punish. A. C. 1361.

Soon after David's return to Scotland, a prodigious fall of rain so swelled the torrents and rivers, that many parts of the country, and particularly Lothian, was inundated;

A. C. 1361. whole towns on the banks of rivers were destroyed, trees torn up, bridges thrown down, mills, hamlets, cattle and their owners, were swept in promiscuous ruin to the sea. A still more dreadful pestilence followed, which carried off vast numbers of all ranks. David employed the last years of his reign in establishing order and justice in his kingdom. The nation happily enjoyed a freedom from warfare, which was highly necessary to recruit its wasted strength.

Death of his queen. Jane, sister to Edward, and David's queen, died in England in 1361. She brought David no children. About a year after, he married Margaret Logie, a lady of singular beauty, the daughter of a gentleman called John Logie. This marriage also proved fruitless. At length David sought a divorce. The queen appealed to the papal court, and the pontiff declared in her favour. The death of David put an end to the depending plea. That monarch died in the castle of Edinburgh, on the 22d of February 1371.

Second marriage.

Death and character of David Bruce. David had little active share in the tumultuous and various revolutions and events which distracted and harrassed Scotland during his long but nominal reign. He was exposed, like most minor princes and persons of high rank, to the pestiferous flattery of all

about him. His long exiles in foreign courts lessened his attachment to his native country, and estranged him from its habits and manners. He is praised for his justice and clemency. His bravery is unquestionable; but his invasion of England was impolitic, and his risking the battle of Durham was fool-hardiness. His changing the succession to the crown from Robert Stewart, the natural heir, to Sutherland, for an alleged fault, which does not seem to have been proven, has more the appearance of revenge or jealousy than either justice or sound policy. A. C. 1371.

His attempt to divorce his second queen, without any shadow of fault on her part, does not give us a high idea of his sentiments of religion or honour. Upon the whole, though we cannot call him a bad king, we cannot say he was a great one.

N. B.—Should the public do me the honour to receive favourably the efforts I have already made to give some account of the early period of Scottish history, and to clear up some points of common prejudice in the minds of my countrymen, it will be an encouragement to carry on my work to a later and still more interesting period, and in which more abundant and satisfactory materials can be procured.

SYNOPTICAL REVIEW

OF POLITICS, LITERATURE, AND RELIGION, DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

Politics.—THE empire of Constantinople was in a continual state of disorder. The sons of the emperors conspired against their fathers. The fathers inflicted cruel and unnatural punishments on their sons. The Greeks, solicitous only to justify their schism, neglected the protection of their country. John Cosmos, patriarch of Constantinople, deposed by the Emperor Andronicus, excommunicated the emperor, and again recalled his censure. The Turks encroached more and more upon the empire. The most formidable of the Mussulmans were the Turks established in Natolia. Ourchan, their sultan, took Bourse, or Pruse, a town of Bithynia, where he built a mosque, a college, and an hospital. He afterwards took Nicomedia in 1333. A crusade sent against them took Smyrna in 1345; but little advantage ensued. The Turks established themselves in Europe under Amurat III. sultan of the Ottomans. They took the city of Adrianople, and made it the capital of their empire. The crusading armies were no longer in Palestine.

The west was little less disturbed. The sovereigns of Germany, France, and Italy, warred against one another. The pontiffs and sovereigns often wrangled. Charles the Fair, king of France, and Pope Boniface VIII. wrote angry letters to each other. Charles caused Boniface to be made prisoner in the city of Anagni. He was set at liberty by the citizens. From chagrin, he fevered and died at Rome, 1303. The military order of the Templars was suppressed by Clement V. Their houses and goods were mostly given to the Knights of St John, who, upon taking the isle of Rhodes, were sometimes called Rhodians, and afterwards Knights of Malta. The property of the Templars, in Spain and Portugal, was given to a new military order entitled *The Militia of Jesus Christ*, to be employed against the Moors.

Lewis of Bavaria was excommunicated by Pope John XXII. for having assumed the title of King of the Romans without the pontiff's approbation. Lewis entered Italy; was crowned at Milan, 1327: attempted to depose John in 1328. James de Cologne ventured to read publicly a bull of the Pope condemning the proceedings of Lewis, and asserting that John was still the lawful pontiff. John rewarded De Cologne with a bishopric.

Lewis set up Peter de Corbiere antipope.

De Corbiere was chaced from Italy, and, at length, resigned his pretensions to the papacy. In 1348 a pestilence, brought from the Levant, spread through Italy, France, Spain, and the northern countries.

Learning.—The conquests of the Turks extinguished emulation for learning. Some of their sultans favoured science; but the body of the nation were barbarous and ferocious.

Nicholas *de Lire*, of Jewish parents, learned the Hebrew when young; became Christian, and entered the order of the Minorites. He was admitted Doctor at Paris, taught and explained the Scriptures, and wrote commentaries on the Old and New Testaments. He died in 1330.

The famous poet, Francis Petrarch, was born in 1304. He contributed, by his fine genius, to the revival of good taste in literature. He was, however, of an immoral character; and, though he was archdeacon of Parma and canon of Padua, he carried on his amours with the celebrated Laura. Pope John XXII., who had employed him in his service, offered to dispense with his religious ties, and advised him to marry Laura. But Petrarch declined that union, saying, that, if he did so, his poetical praises of that lady would be no longer esteemed. Laura, seeing herself disappointed, married another. Petrarch was

crowned with laurel as a poet, at Rome, 8th April 1341,—pretending to revive an ancient custom, of which, however, we find no vestige in antiquity. His levity and folly appear in declaring himself an avowed partizan of Nicholas Laurence, a rebel and disturber of the peace. He died at Arcqua, in 1374, at the age of 70. He left a great many works, esteemed on account of the beauty of his style. His Latin letters are senseless invectives, and deserving of no credit.

During this century flourished many Scottish geniuses. Simon White, of the order of Templars 1310, wrote a vindication of his order. John Scot of Dunse, of the order of the Minorites, a prodigy of genius and learning, died at Cologne, of an apoplectic fit, in 1308, in the 34th year of his age.

William Dempster, a celebrated professor of philosophy at Paris, flourished 1323.

John de Fordun formed the design of writing the history of Scotland from all the ancient records and chronicles which he could find. Having collected his materials, he began his history about the year 1341, but lived only to finish the five first books. Walter Bower, abbot of St Columba, in the isle of Inchcolme, continued the work until the death of James I.

John Bassol, of the order of the Minorites, was a person of considerable genius and learn-

ing. He taught theology at Mechlin in Brabant, and died there in the year 1347.

John Blair, a Benedictine monk, was schoolfellow with Sir William Wallace at the school of Dundee—and afterwards, when Wallace became regent or governor of Scotland, 1294, Mr Blair was made his chaplain; and being an eye-witness to many of his heroic deeds, he wrote the history of them in Latin, which is now mostly lost; but from which,

Blind Harry probably drew much of the subject matter, which his creative and ingenious muse adorned with poetical machinery, and extended to twelve books, describing the illustrious actions of his hero. Blind Harry flourished 1361.

John Barbour, archdeacon of Aberdeen, wrote the history of Robert Bruce in an heroic poem, for which he was rewarded by an annual pension by King David, the son of his hero.—Hugh Scot was a disciple of the famous Michael Scot, 1341. Hugh is said to have been one of the best mathematicians of his age. From the catalogue of his works, it would seem he was an astrologer.

Religion.—Enthusiasm was introduced amongst the Eastern monks. The desire of the fame of distinguished sanctity became an epidemic passion amongst both the religious orders and the laity, and gave rise to many wild and ro-

mantic ideas and opinions. The same fanaticism spread to the West, and formed sects of Begards, Ferrots, Spiritual Brethren, &c. These sects were condemned at the council of Vienne, 1312. Missionaries were sent to the Tartars: The city of Sultania was erected into an archbishoprick; six suffragan bishopricks of preaching friars were established under its jurisdiction. *Odoru de Frioul* travelled through the Mogul's empire; through India to Cape Comorin, to Ceylon, Java, and China. He is said to have baptized twenty thousand persons.

Two young princes became begging friars, viz. Peter, son of James II., king of Arragon, and Charles, count of Alençon, nephew to *Philip de Valois*, killed in the battle of Creci 1346. Charles became afterwards archbishop of Lyons.

Wild doctrines were introduced into England 1368. But especially one heresiarch invented tenets, not only contrary to the ancient faith, and the universal belief of all Christendom, but also subversive of all civil society. That person was John Wickliff, born in Yorkshire. He studied in Queen's college, Oxford, and made considerable progress in theology. Being displaced from a guardianship in Oxford by Simon Lengham, archbishop of Canterbury, to which he had been appointed by the former archbishop, he appealed to the Pope, who confirmed the expulsion. Two years after he ob-

tained a chair of theology. He was also rector of the parish of Lutterworth. The frequent bickerings between the court of Rome and the kings of England had greatly disaffected the English people toward the former. The English clergy had generally espoused the cause of the pontiff. Wickliff had now a favourable opportunity of revenge. He determined to ruin the credit of the pontiff and the clergy in the minds of the people. In his lectures he inveighed against the court of Rome, and not only against the temporal power and riches of the pontiffs, but also against their spiritual authority. He endeavoured to destroy all the respect and confidence of the people towards the clergy.

" Ecclesiastics (he says) have no right to " temporal possessions. They ought to live " by the voluntary alms of the faithful. Tem- " poral lords have a right to strip them of all " property. They only resume in so doing " what their ancestors have foolishly and erro- " neously given."

" Bishops have only an imaginary power: " A simple priest of regular morals has more " spiritual power than prelates elected by car- " dinals or appointed by the Pope."

" Kings, popes, and bishops lose all lawful " power and authority when they commit a " mortal sin. Kings are obliged in conscience

" to confiscate all the goods of prelates who " offend God grievously."

" God cannot give any man a perpetual civil " domain to himself and his heirs. All things " belonging to God alone, he only can give an " exclusive right to any property; and he " grants that right to none but the just, and " who are in the state of grace."

But if Wickliff allow the clergy to be judges of what is mortal sin, he exalts their power and increases their riches. If the people are to be judges, a door is open to pillage and free-booting.

These, and many other heretical doctrines, Wickliff taught traversing England barefooted, and followed by a vast crowd of disciples. He was protected against personal arrestment or punishment by the Duke of Lancaster and Henry de Percy, Lord Marshal of England. His doctrine of equality and independence among men excited an insurrection of the lower orders, to the number of one hundred thousand persons, in 1379 and 1380, who committed many disorders. Richard II. commanded the university of Oxford to cut off from its body Wickliff and his followers. Wickliff absconded about Lutterworth, where he died 2d December 1384. His errors were condemned in a national council at London 1382, and afterwards in the council of Constance. Wickliff's

writings were carried to Germany. John Huss adopted a part of his errors, and stirred up the people against the clergy. The same doctrine, after Luther had raised his standard against the church of Rome, produced the sects of Anabaptists who desolated Germany.

END OF HISTORY.

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

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It is a common practice of historians to make special dissertations upon the laws, government, customs, manners, and religion of the countries whose history they write.

Being no lawyer, I have not attempted any elucidation of the ancient laws of Scotland; and I perceive that even those historians who possessed great legal knowledge seem to have been at a loss to give a distinct and genuine account of any ancient code of Scottish laws, or the periods of their enactment.

The description of Scottish manners and customs, during the greater part of the ages I have passed through in the foregoing history, could only be loose and conjectural; what seemed the most interesting and best authenticated, I have endeavoured to interweave in my narration of events.

But I especially remark in all our late historians, even the most learned, an astonishing ignorance of the religion professed in Scotland, in common with the greater part of Christendom, before the sixteenth century. These historians, without having taken the necessary pains to inform themselves of the real tenets of that re-

ligion from its own doctrinal books, have unwarily imbibed, from the conversation and writings of its adversaries, deep-rooted prejudices against it; and have uniformly stigmatized it with the epithets of *gross*, *absurd*, *superstitious*, *immoral*, and *idolatrous*. They have represented it as a mass of corruption and folly, grounded upon the ignorance and selfish views of the clergy, and imposed upon the credulity of the people.

My intention, in this appendix, is not to enter into a polemical defence of the ancient religion of our country, but simply and concisely to state the true meaning of some of the articles of that creed which are most found fault with, now-a-days, by my countrymen; because, knowing that those tenets are generally misrepresented, I believe they are commonly misunderstood. I shall often subjoin to the statement, not solely the arguments of Catholics, but also the opinion of Protestant divines, or other learned Protestants, concerning those doctrines.

OF THE POPE.

With regard to the Pope's temporal, or his deposing power, I have already shewn that this was never an article of Catholic faith; and that those Popes who, mistaking the privileges of their see, assumed and acted upon that presumptive power, never, by any rescript or decretal, declared it to be an article of the Catholic creed. I have also shewn that Popes and their legates have been resisted in Scotland and England, when their demands seemed unreasonable; and I could easily adduce similar examples in almost every country of Europe. As all Catholics now within the British empire willingly abjure the Pope's temporal power within these

realms, no reasonable person can distrust the allegiance of Catholics, or impute to them a tenet which might afford room for suspicion.

With respect to the Pope's spiritual supremacy, Catholics believe, that our Lord Jesus Christ, a builder infinitely wise, wishing to establish his church so firmly and solidly as to be proof against inundations and storms, and that not even the gates of hell should prevail against her, being himself the immoveable rock, made Simon also a rock, and instituted his supremacy to support and cement that fabric, saying, *Thou art a rock, and upon this rock I will build my church—and I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, &c.* And again, *feed my lambs; feed my sheep.* Catholics have always understood, that, by these words, Christ granted to Peter, and to his successors in office, a supremacy of rank and jurisdiction over all his church—*lambs and sheep*;—that is, over the people and the pastors. They still believe Christ to be the principal and invisible head of the church; and as it is Christ who baptizes and absolves, though he employs his ministers to perform these offices, so it is Christ who, by his Holy Spirit, invisibly guides and governs his church: Yet has he constituted a visible vicar to rule and govern his visible church; to be the centre of unity; and that the concord and unanimity of faith, sacraments, and government, may be preserved among all the faithful. This the councils and fathers have always taught.

This supremacy they do not consider to be a despotic or arbitrary power, but as according with the councils and canons; and as St Peter himself explains it—*According to God, and not for filthy lucre's sake—Neither as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart*—1 Pet. v. 2, 3.

The councils of Constance and Basil have, in express

terms, declared the supreme power of the church militant under Christ over all the faithful, even over the Pope himself, to be in general councils, as to defining matters of faith, abolishing schisms, and reforming the church both in the head and members; and that all persons whatever, and amongst others the Pope himself, are bound to obey and to be subject to their decrees.—Counc. Const. Scss. 4 and 5, and Council of Basil, Sess. 3.

King James VI. or I. in a public speech to his parliament, 1603, says, " I would with all my heart give " my consent that the Bishop of Rome should have the " first seat.—I being a western king, would go with the " Patriarch of the west. And for his temporal principality " over the signory of Rome, I do not quarrel it either. " Let him, in God's name, be *primus Episcopus inter* " *omnes Episcopos*, so it be no otherwise than Peter was " Princeps Apostolorum."

The learned Grotius, who was well qualified to handle this important subject, in his last work, written not long before his death, makes this positive declaration:—I give his own words:

" Restitutionem Christianorum in unum idemque cor-
" pus; semper optatam a Grotio sciunt, qui eum norunt.
" Existimavit autem aliquando, incipi posse a Protestan-
" tium inter se conjunctione. Postea vidit, id plane fieri
" nequire; quia praeterquam quod Calvinistarum ingenia,
" fermè omnium, ab omni pace sunt alienissima, Protes-
" tantes nullo inter se communi ecclesiastico regimine
" sociantur. Quae cause sunt cur facile partes in unum
" Protestantium corpus colligi nequeant, immo et cur
" partes aliae atque aliae sint exsurrecturae. Quare
" nunc plane sentit Grotius, et multi cum ipso, non pos-
" se Protestantes inter se jungi, nisi simul jungantur
" cum iis qui sedi Romanae cohaerent; sine qua nul-
" lum sperari potest in ecclesia commune regimen.

" Ideo optat ut ea divulsio quae evenit et causae divul-
" sionis tollantur. Inter eas causas non et Primatus
" Episcopi Romani secundum canones, fatente Melanc-
" thone, qui eum primatum etiam necessarium putat ad
" retinendam unitatem."—Which in English runs thus:
" All who know Grotius, know this, that he has always
" desired that Christians should be again united in one
" and the same body. He was once of opinion, that
" this might have been begun by uniting Protestants
" with one another: Afterwards he saw this was impos-
" sible, not only because the genius of Calvinism is
" averse to peace, but also because Protestants have no
" common form of hierarchy in which they are joined.
" Such are the reasons why the several divisions of Pro-
" testants cannot unite in one body; nay, that more and
" more divisions must still arise. Wherefore Grotius is
" now absolutely of opinion, and many others with him,
" that Protestants cannot be united among themselves
" except they be united with those who are in commu-
" nion with the See of Rome. Hence it is his wish
" that the separation which has been made, and the
" causes of separation, were taken away: amongst which
" causes, the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, accord-
" ing to the canons, is not to be numbered; as Me-
" lancthon likewise confesses, who also deems that pri-
" macy necessary for the preservation of unity."

Grotius had declared the same sentiment before, in his first reply to Rivet;—" What is the reason," says he, " that those among the Catholics, who differ in
" scholastic opinions, still remain in the same body with-
" out breaking communion, and that those among the
" Protestants who disagree, cannot do so, howsoever
" much they speak of fraternal love. Whoever will ma-
" turely weigh this, will perceive how great is the effect
" of primacy."

RULE OF FAITH.

By Rule of Faith, Catholics understand a stable and permanent principle, infallibly containing truths revealed by God, or a supreme authority manifesting truths so revealed.

The former is called the inanimate rule of faith, the latter is called the animate, or living and speaking rule. The inanimate rule is of two kinds,—the one written by divine inspiration, which is called Scripture,—the other, taught by our Saviour, preached by the apostles, and handed down by the living voice of the pastors of the church, and is called divine or apostolical *tradition*.

These traditions partly regard faith, such as the baptizing children before the use of reason; and partly are concerning the discipline of morals, such as keeping the Sunday instead of the Jewish Sabbath. These traditional doctrines, or practices of discipline, preached by the apostles, were afterwards committed to writing by the holy fathers, who are therefore called the witnesses of tradition.

The animate or living rule of faith, manifesting by supreme authority the truths revealed by God, is understood by Catholics to be that church to whose pastors Christ said, *He that hears you hears me*,—Luke x. *Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you*; *and, lo, I am with you always, even to the consummation of the world*,—Matth. xxviii. *I will ask the Father and he will give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever*,—John xiv. 16. *When*

the Spirit of truth is come, he will teach you all truth,—John, xvi. 13.

Jesus Christ having founded his church by preaching, the unwritten word was the first rule of Christian faith; and when the apostles by degrees had written the books, which, being gradually collected and collated with what had been preached, and found conformable thereto, were received, and at length published under the title of the New Testament, the first rule, namely, the unwritten word, lost not its authority. Catholics, therefore, receive, with equal veneration, all that was taught by the apostles, whether written or only delivered by word of mouth, according to the express injunction of St Paul,—2 Thess. ii.—*Therefore, brethren, stand fast and hold the traditions which you have learned, whether by word or by our epistle.*

Catholics hold for a certain mark of a point of doctrine having been taught by the apostles, that it has been embraced by all Christian churches, without a possibility of tracing its beginning; and they cannot refuse to receive, with all the submission due to divine authority, what has been so early and so universally established. It is impossible, say they, but a doctrine which has been received by the church from the earliest ages, must have its source in the doctrine of Christ and his apostles; and they cannot conceive, that their Protestant brethren should be astonished or scandalised at their carefully collecting and religiously preserving the deposit of apostolical tradition as well as that of the Holy Scriptures.

The Church being established by her founder as the *pillar and ground of truth*, as the guardian both of the Scripture and tradition, they receive from her hand the Canonical Scriptures, perceiving no other certain crite-

rion of distinguishing the genuine Scriptures from a multiplicity of spurious writings pretending to divine inspiration.

The Sacred Scriptures so received, strengthen the ties and submission of Catholics to the authority of the church by their sacred oracles. They receive from that authority tradition also, and from tradition learn the true unvarying sense of the Scripture,—the Church still professing that she says nothing as from herself; that she invents no new doctrine, but strictly follows and announces, by the interior direction of the Holy Spirit, her guide and conductor, what was divinely revealed from the beginning.

The dispute which arose, in the days of the apostles, upon the subject of the ceremonial precepts of the Mosaic law, Acts, xv. shews that the Holy Spirit explains himself by the voice of his church. The manner of proceeding, and the decision given in that venerable council, has been looked up to and held as the model of all succeeding councils of the Church. Hence, whenever doubts or novelties arose concerning faith or discipline, the Church interposed her authority. Her chief pastors assembled, said with the apostles, *It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us, &c.* The matter for the true faithful was at rest,—they willingly acquiesced. For so Paul and Silas, who bore the judgment of the apostles to the faithful, allowed them no new discussion of the question, but, *as they passed through the cities, delivered to them the decrees to keep that were decreed by the apostles and ancients at Jerusalem*—Acts xvi. 4.

Such is the deference which Catholics have, at all times, had for the judgments of the Church, that, in the symbol of faith attributed to the apostles, after having declared their belief in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, they immediately added, *the Holy Catholic Church*; con-

sidering her as the organ of the Holy Ghost. This creed being daily and hourly recited, is considered as an ever-standing proof of a perpetually existing holy Catholic church.

Yet this Catholic church, so far from domineering over the faithful, binds up and deprives herself of the power of any innovation, by not only submitting her decisions to the Holy Scripture, but also, in order to discard all arbitrary interpretations, which might cause the inventions of men to pass for the word of God, she obliges herself to interpret the Scripture according to the unanimous consent of the ancient Fathers; still declaring, in all her councils and her professions of faith, that she receives no dogma but what is conformable to the faith of all foregoing ages.

This supreme authority of the Church ought to be so much less objectionable to Protestants, that they have often been obliged to have recourse to it themselves. When the Independents in France openly declared that each of the faithful ought to follow the lights of his own conscience, without submitting his judgment to the authority of any ecclesiastical assembly, and on that ground refused to submit to the synods, the synod of Charenton, held in 1644, censured that doctrine, for the same reasons and on account of the same inconveniences which make Catholics reject it. This synod observes, that the error of the Independents consists in their teaching, *that every particular congregation ought to govern itself by its own laws, without any dependence on any person or persons in ecclesiastical matters, and without obligation of acknowledging the authority of conferences or synods for their superintendance or guidance.* Then the synod decides, *that that sect is so much more prejudicial to the state of the Church, that it opens a door to every*

sort of irregularity and extravagance, and excludes every mean of applying a remedy; and that, were it to take place, there might arise as many religions as there are parishes or private meetings. To obviate these inconveniences, which, it is acknowledged, would ruin Christianity, the synod is obliged to establish *a dependence in ecclesiastic affairs*, and even in matters of faith. Hence, we read in the 5th chapter of the Reformed Discipline, 31st article, *Of Consistories*, that, desirous of prescribing the means of *terminating all controversies that might occur upon any point of doctrine or discipline, They ordain, in the first place, that the Consistory shall endeavour to appease the debate quietly and with all the mildness of the word of God. That after the Consistory, the Conference, then the Provincial Synod shall follow*, as so many rising degrees of jurisdiction, till at length they come to the National Synod, the highest authority, *where the entire and final resolution shall pass by the word of God. To which sentence, whoever refuses to submit point by point, with express disavowal or retractation of his errors, shall be cut off from the Church.* It is clear that those gentlemen do not attribute the authority of this last judgment to the word of God alone, taken in itself and independently of the interpretation of the Church: for the word of God had been employed in the lower tribunals, and yet there lay an appeal to the highest, which, by the word interpreted by its authority, condemns the refractory man as a profane person, though he had boasted that he was authorised, in his opinion, by the word of God.

A still stronger instance of Protestant submission to the authority of the Church, occurs at the synod of Vitré, held 1617. That synod prescribes the form of submission, or *des lettres d'envoi*, which the provincial synods

are required to send with their deputies to the national synod, of which the following is a translation word for word :

" We promise before God to submit ourselves to all " that shall be concluded and resolved on in your holy " assembly ; to obey and execute the same with all our " power : persuaded, as we are, that God will preside " there, and will guide you by his Holy Spirit, in all " truth and equity, by the rule of his word."

Here we have not simply a promise to receive and obey a decree of the synod, after having examined it and found that it is according to Scripture, but a solemn submission already made to a synod not yet assembled : and the reason assigned is, that they are persuaded that *the Holy Spirit will preside there.* Had this been only a human presumption of such guidance, how could they in conscience have promised before God to submit to all that was to be concluded and resolved on, and to obey and execute the same to the utmost of their power? If this persuasion was founded upon a firm belief of the assistance given by the Holy Spirit to his church, the Catholics certainly require no more.

But we find the most wonderful renunciation of private judgment in the national synod held at *Sainte Foy* in the year 1578,—where the deputies from all the Protestant churches in France trust and submit to *the prudence and sound judgment* of four of their ministers, the most experienced in such matters, the drawing up of a new Confession of Faith, in order to reconcile and unite the Lutherans with the Calvinists : and full powers are given to this committee of four ministers to grant and conclude and settle every point under deliberation, whether for *doctrine* or any thing else, regarding *the good, union, and repose of all the churches.*

I have extracted these testimonies from the Exposition of the Doctrine of the Catholic Church by the learned Bishop Bossuet, who must have had the documents before him, since he published them in the face of France and of the whole world. " When Protestants (says *Chillenworth*, ch. i. p. 55. sec. 8. first edition) " affirm " against Papists that Scripture is a perfect rule of faith, " their meaning is not, that by Scripture all things may " be proved which are to be believed; for it can never " be proved by Scripture that there is a God! or that " the book called Scripture is the word of God. For " nothing is proved true for being written in a book, but " only by tradition, which is a thing credible of itself."

" The leaving every man to make any thing of any " text out of his own head, leaves all innovators as much " lawgivers to the church as any enthusiast can be, and " ever will be the ground of heresies brought in by men, " who, departing from the stable interpretation of the " church, pervert the Scriptures *to their own* and others " destruction."—Gunning's *Pascal Fast*, p. 20.

" Writers of the Roman religion (says Lord Boling- " broke) have attempted to shew that the text of holy " writ is, on many accounts, insufficient to be the sole " criterion of orthodoxy. I apprehend, too, that they " have shewn it. Sure I am that experience, from the " first promulgation of Christianity to this hour, shews " abundantly with how much ease and success the most " opposite, the most extravagant, nay, the most impious " opinions, and the most contradictory faiths, may be " founded on the same text, and defended by the same " authority."—*Bol. Letters*, Let. V. p. 179.

" Nothing (says Mr Hume) more forwarded the first " progress of the Reformers than the offer which they " made of submitting all religious doctrines to private

" judgment, and the summons given every one to exa-
" mine the principles formerly imposed upon them.
" Though the multitude were totally unqualified for
" this undertaking, they yet were highly pleased with it.
" They fancied that they were exercising their judg-
" ment when they opposed to the prejudices of ancient
" authority more powerful prejudices of another kind.
" The novelty itself of the doctrines; the pleasure of an
" imaginary triumph in dispute; the fervent zeal of the
" reformed preachers; a disgust against the restraints of
" the old religion,—these motives were prevalent with
" the people, and, by such considerations, men were in-
" duced, during that age, to throw off the religion of
" their ancestors." But in proportion as the practice of submitting religion to private judgment was acceptable to the people, it appeared, in some respects, dangerous to the rights of sovereigns, and seemed to destroy the implicit obedience on which the authority of the civil magistrate is chiefly founded. The very precedent of shaking so ancient and deep-founded an establishment as that of the Roman hierarchy, might, it was apprehended, prepare the way for other innovations. The republican spirit which naturally took place among the Reformers, increased that jealousy. The furious insurrections of the populace, excited by Munster and other Anabaptists in Germany, furnished a new pretence for decrying the Reformation. Nor ought we to conclude, because Protestants in our time prove as dutiful subjects as those of another communion, that therefore such apprehensions were altogether without any shadow of plausibility. Though the liberty of private judgment be tendered to the disciples of the Reformation, it is not in reality accepted of.—Vol. IV. ch. xxxi. p. 111.

" If we attend (says the same author) to the variations

" of all Protestant creeds, we might, one would think,
" be excused for saying with the Catholics, *that all cri-*
" *terion of truth and falsehood in matters of religion is*
" *lost in departing from the authority of the Church.*"

D'Alembert, the French infidel philosopher, says,
" Socinianism is the necessary consequence of Protestant
" principles; and if the Protestant ministers do not
" think proper to adopt it at this moment, their logic
" must, ere long, conduct them to it. If they are not
" Socinians, they must become so."

" When men (says Diderot) adopt the leading fea-
" tures of Protestantism, it is impossible to tell where
" they will stop. They must, ere long, change to a state
" of perfect Socinianism."

But enough of philosophers,—let us return to celebrated Protestant divines; and, in the first place, to Luther himself.

" In the church of Rome are many excellent things,
" nay, every thing good in Christianity. For in the
" church of Rome you have the true Scriptures; true
" baptism, the true sacrament of the altar, the true
" keys for the remission of sin, the ten commandments;
" nay, I say more, that Popery is true Christianity, even
" the very kernel thereof."—*Contra Anabaptistas*, Tom. II. *German.* p. 229.

Whitaker, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, says, " When the Church gives testimony to the Scrip-
" tures, surely this testimony is divine, because God is
" the author of this testimony."—Book iii. *Of the Scripture.*

" That the whole Church should err in any thing
" within the compass of revealed truths is impossible;
" nay, in things not absolutely necessary to be believed
" expressly, we constantly believe that the Church can

"never err; and that the Visible Church never falleth "into heresy, we do most willingly grant."—*Field on the Church*, B. i. ch. 13.

"What madness for a man to tire out his soul, and "waste his time in tracing out the thorny paths of con- "troversy in our days, and not betake himself to the "right path of truth, that is, to associate himself to that "church to which the custody of this heavenly truth "has been committed; to weigh diligently which is "the true church; and that once found, to receive "obediently, without *doubt* or *discussion*, whatsoever "she doth deliver." . . . . "She having the war- "rant that he who heareth her heareth Christ; and "what folly were it to receive the Scriptures upon cre- "dit of her authority, and not to receive the interpreta- "tion of them upon her authority also."—*Sandy's Western Religions*, p. 29, &c.

"We do not believe that any general council ever "did, or ever will, err in any matter of faith."—*Dr Hammond on Heresy*, sec. 14. No. 6.

CONFESSION, OR THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE.

CATHOLICS believe that our Lord Jesus Christ, knowing the frailty of mankind, and the temptations to which they are often exposed; and also foreseeing that very many (though *born again of water and of the Holy Spirit*) would afterwards relapse into grievous sins, more fully provided a remedy for the truly penitent, by promising his apostles the power of binding and loosing—Math. xvi. and xviii.: and, after his resurrection, actually imparted to them the power of forgiving and retaining sins—John xx. 23. They believe, with all antiquity,

that the said power must necessarily descend to the successors of the apostles; otherwise, the powers of baptizing, preaching the gospel, &c. must cease also with the lives of the apostles.

They teach, therefore, that those who have submitted themselves to the authority of the church by baptism, and have afterwards grievously violated the laws of the gospel, must undergo the judgment of the church, in the tribunal of penance, where she exercises the power given her of forgiving or retaining sins. They, however, teach that no sin can be forgiven by any power on earth or heaven without sincere repentance and a firm resolution of amendment with the help of God's grace. When the ministers of the church absolve sinners whom they judge penitent, they comply with the express terms of their commission, and it is understood that Christ, whose place they hold, interiorly absolves the penitent while the priest performs the external ministry. They are persuaded, from experience, that this tribunal is so powerful a restraint upon licentiousness, so salutary a source of wise counsel, and so sensible a consolation for the conscience afflicted by the lively remembrancc of past offenses, that, if those Christians who have abandoned it knew its value, they would regret the loss of a practice so useful and so consolatory.

The church of England advises confession in the exhortation giving warning of a communion. She urges it in the rubrick for the visitation of the sick, and uses the same form of absolution as the Church of Rome, viz. *By his authority committed to me*, I absolve thee from all thy sins, &c.

The R. R. Richard Montague, a learned divine of the Church of England, bishop of Chichester, and after-

wards bishop of Norwich, gained a high reputation among Protestants by his writings, and was held in great esteem by King James I. or VI. In his *Appeal*, ch. 32, he says: "Private confession unto a priest is of very "ancient practice in the church, and of excellent use "and benefit, being discreetly handled. We refuse it to "none, if men require it, and if need be to have it. We "urge and persuade it *in extremis*, (that is, in dan- "ger of death.) We require it in the case of perplexity, "for the quieting of men disturbed in their conscien- "ces."

Bishop Andrews, a divine of the same church, in his Court Sermon on John xx. 23, "Whose sins you shall for- give," &c. "We are not (says he) the ordinance of God "thus standing, to rend off one part of the sentence: "Three are here expressed,—1. Almighty God; 2. the "Sinner; 3. the Priest. Where three are expressed, "three are required; and where three are required, two "are not enough. He then cites St Augustine. Let "no one say, I repent in private, I repent before God: "Then to no purpose was it said, whatever you loose "on earth shall be loosed in heaven. To no purpose "were the keys given to the church of God. We make "void the Gospel, void the words of Christ."

INDULGENCES.

PROTESTANTS are generally taught, that an Indulgence in the Catholic Church is *a pardon for past sins—or even a leave to commit sin in future, and that such indulgence is obtained for a sum of money.*

Catholics detest such doctrine. An Indulgence according to them is a remission or releasement of a part or of the whole of the temporal punishment enjoined by the

ancient penitential canons, or considered as still due for sins already repented of, and forgiven in the tribunal of penance ; or rather a commutation of that punishment or penance into other good works, such as prayer, going to the sacraments, giving alms, &c. which are enjoined in order to obtain that benefit which they believe the Church has the power of granting by virtue of Christ's commission of binding and loosing.

This doctrine and practice necessarily implies a belief, that Almighty God often visits the crimes of true penitents by inflicting temporal punishments for them, even after his mercy has forgiven the everlasting guilt and punishment, for which many passages of Scripture are cited. It is this temporal debt which is released or commuted by partial or plenary indulgences.

They adduce the example of St Paul, who, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, had inflicted the pain of excommunication with all its concomitant privations upon the incestuous man: and in his Second Epistle to the same church remits a part of the punishment *for their sakes and in the person of Christ*—2 Cor. ii. 10.

During the early persecutions of the Christians, martyrs going to death, or confessors loaded with chains, or condemned to work in the mines, often petitioned the bishops to grant fervent penitents a relaxation of their penances. These petitions, in honour of the constancy and heroic courage of the petitioners, were generally granted, and those concessions were called *Indulgences*, whence the name has arisen. It was believed that the spiritual goods were common among the members of the Church, and that the merits of those heroic imitators of Christ might be lawfully applied to the penitents for whom they interested themselves.

We learn from a letter of St. Augustine (*Ad. Mace-*

don. Ep. 54.) that as the bishops often interceded with the magistrates to mitigate the punishment to which criminals were sentenced, so, on the other hand, the magistrates requested of the bishops a diminution of the penance imposed upon certain sinners. These mutual good offices of charity did honour to Christianity.

The learned Bingham cites examples of such Indulgences in the Primitive Church, and approves of them; but blames the Popes for reserving, in later times, the dispensation of Indulgences to themselves alone. But the pontiff does not deprive the other bishops of the power of granting Indulgences within their own dioceses. It is expedient, however, that the whole Church should sometimes simultaneously, and with one accord, join their prayers and good works to obtain from Almighty God those graces and blessings which interest the Catholic society: and to whom can it better belong to engage them to such pious exercises than the Father and Pastor of the Universal Church?

The best things may be abused; and certainly, in latter ages, Indulgencies were grossly abused. The alms enjoined, instead of being left to the discretion of the donor, to bestow his charity where he thought proper, were sometimes ordered to be collected for some public and pious uses. Wherever money is to be handled, (especially when there is no means of knowing what is received,) there is danger of fraud; and much peculation was doubtless practised in this business: but the pontiffs cannot justly be taxed with the imposture and fraud of collectors, or the knavery or sordid spirit of some monks concerned. Innocent III. complained of such corrupt practices in the Council of Lateran 1215. Clement V. in the Council of Vienna 1311, severely censures the wicked agents culpable of such crimes, and

strictly forbids such evil practices for the future.—*Clem.* Lib. v. tit. 9. c. 2.

Had Luther contented himself with inveighing against these abuses, and endeavoured to have them corrected in a canonical way, he would have deserved the applause of the Christian world. The Council of Trent, however, effectually reformed those corrupt practices, by abrogating the office of questors, or collectors of alms, and, wholly abolishing their name, committed the publishing of Indulgences to the ordinary bishop of the diocese, with two of his chapter, without any emolument whatever. "Nulla prorsus mercede accepta."—Sess. 21. c. 9.

The said council charges bishops, every where, in their dioceses, to take care that, in the grant or exercises of Indulgences, all wordly gain, ignorance, superstition, with every other abuse, be avoided.—Sess. 25. c. 21. *Decreet de Indul.*

Lord Hailes informing us that Pope Nicolas IV. exhorting the Scottish bishops to preach a crusade, granted them, for every sermon so preached, an Indulgence of a hundred days, "The labourer (he said,) being "worthy of his hire." "I am not so learned (remarks "his Lordship) in the matter of Indulgences, as to "know whether the pope meant to pardon all the sins "which the bishops might commit during a hundred "days, or only deduct that term from their indefinite "residence in Purgatory."—*Miscel. Occur.* p. 378.

A Catholic child who had just gone through his catechism could have informed his Lordship that the Pope meant neither the one nor the other; but that, as every Christian is obliged to *do penance or perish*, Luke xiii. 3. the pontiff meant, that the sermon, which he accounted a *pious labour*, should be a commutation or supple-

ment for the penitential exercises which the bishop had omitted, or performed remissly, or which he would, otherwise, have had still to perform during that space of time. And yet his Lordship, doubtless, thought himself highly enlightened, or very witty in making this reflection.

Our historian, Mr Hume, who seems to have known rather better than most of our modern Protestant writers the nature of Indulgences, yet represents them to his readers in an unfair and contradictory manner.

" Protestant writers (says he,) have imagined that, " because a man could purchase, *for a shilling*, *an In-* " *dulgence for the most enormous crimes*, there must " necessarily have ensued a total dissolution of morali- " ty, and consequently of civil society. They do not " consider that, after all these Indulgences were pro- " mulgated, there still remained, besides hell-fire, the " punishment by the civil magistrate, the infamy of the " world, and the secret remorses of conscience, which are " the great motives that operate on mankind. Indul- " gences were never pretended to release but from tem- " poral punishment; therefore, how much soever abused, " could not have the evil tendency attributed to them."

" The sale of Indulgences (continues he) seems there- " fore no more criminal than any other cheat of the " Church of Rome or any other church, (he ought to " have said churchmen.) The Reformers, by entirely " abolishing Purgatory, did really, instead of partial in- " dulgences sold by the Pope, give, gratis, a general " indulgence, of a similar nature, for all crimes and of- " fences, without exception or distinction."

Protestants, I dare say, will not admit that Mr Hume, in this last sentence, rightly explains their creed. They ought not, therefore, to admit, without careful examination, what similar writers say of Catholic tenets.

In short, the manner of dispensing Indulgences regards discipline.

THE REAL PRESENCE OF JESUS CHRIST IN THE HOLY SACRAMENT.

CATHOLICS believe the incomprehensible dogma of the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Eucharist, in the same manner and for the same reason that they believe the incomprehensible tenets of the Holy Trinity,—the incarnation of the Son of God,—with all other mysteries of the Christian religion. That is to say, they believe all those mysteries upon the infallible word and declaration of Almighty God himself.

In regard to the holy Eucharist or Lord's Supper, they weigh the solemn promise of Christ, St John, vi.; the murmurs of the disciples; the want of any figurative explication to content them. On the contrary, the repeated asseverations of the reality and necessity; the appeal to the apostles, if they meant also to leave him on account of that doctrine.

2. They understand the words of the institution literally with strict adhesion to their natural import, perceiving no necessity to take them in a figurative sense. They say with Peter, *Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life.* He who can do what he pleases, in speaking effects what he says. He was alone with his apostles, to whom, when no others were present, he never spoke in parables. He was making his last will and testament, in which no man speaks figuratively. He declared he gave them the body that was to be broken, the blood that was to be shed. These certainly were real. *Do this in commemoration of me*, they consider to be the ordination of the apostles, and the power committed to them of performing the sacred mysteries.

3. They contend that all the Primitive church so understood this sacred mystery, for which they appeal to the writings of the fathers and all ecclesiastical writers. They claim therefore a prescription of 1500 years before the Reformers. They say to Protestants,—Before you existed, the whole Christian church believed the real presence. It was impossible that, in regard to a sacrament that was in daily use, which constituted the principal part of the Christian worship, the belief could have changed without making much noise. It must have caused warm disputes all the world over, and must have been treated of frequently and solemnly in the councils; and yet nothing of this is heard of. Could all the pastors of East and West have conspired, with one accord, to make such a change, or could they have done so without its being observed?

Finally, it is not more difficult, they say, to believe that Christ changes bread and wine into his own body and blood, than to believe that he changed water into wine, or created the world out of nothing. We can as easily believe that Christ can give his body a supernatural manner of existence, conceal it under the appearance of bread or wine, and make it independent of place or space, as we believe that the Holy Ghost appeared under the form of a dove or under the form of fire,—or that Christ himself rose from the sepulchre without removing the stone, or entered into the room where his disciples were, the doors being shut.

The Lutherans believe a real presence; and yet the Calvinists in France, in a national synod, 1631, declared their union with the Lutherans, and admitted them to communion.

Calvin himself, (upon 1 Cor. xi. 24.) *Take, eat, this is my body*, says: " Neque enim mortis tantum et resur-

" rectionis suæ beneficium offert Christus; sed corpus " ipsum, in quo passus est et resurrexit." Neither does Christ offer us the benefit only of his death and resurrection, but that very body itself in which he suffered and rose again.

Beza and others, as related by Hospinian, *Hist. Sacram.* parte altera, page 251: " Fatemur in Cæna Do- " mini, non modo omnia Christi beneficia, sed ipsam " etiam filii hominis substantiam, ipsam inquam, veram " carnem et verum illum sanguinem, quem fudit pro no- " bis, non significate duntaxat aut symbolice typice vel " figurate proponi, tanquam absentis memoriam, sed " vere ac certo representari, exhiberi et applicanda of- " feri, adjunctis symbolis minime nudis—ut appareat " nos ipsius corporis et sanguinis præsentiam in Cæna " retinere et defendere."

We profess that, in the Lord's supper, there is contained, offered, and applied to us, not only all the benefits of Christ, but also the real substance of the Son of Man, we mean the true body and true blood which he shed for us, and that not figuratively or typically as the commemoration of an absent person in empty symbols. So that we retain and maintain the real presence of Christ's body and blood.

In the Catechism of the Church of England, it is asked, What is the inward part or thing signified? It is answered,—The body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper.

Mr Hooker, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, *Eccl. Pol.* Lib. 5. says, that these holy mysteries impart unto us, even in a true and real, though mystical manner, *the very person of our Lord himself*, whole, perfect, and entire.

Bishop Montague, *Appeal*, ch. 30,—" Concerning this " point I said, and I say so still, that if men were dis- " posed, as they ought, unto peace, there need be no dif- " ference. And I added a reason, which I repeat again " here: The disagreement is only *de modo præsentiæ*, " of the manner of the presence." The thing is yielded on either side, that there is in the eucharist a real presence. " God forbid," saith Bishop Bilson, " we should " deny that the flesh and blood of Christ are truly pre- " sent, and truly received by the faithful at the Lord's " table. It is the doctrine that we teach others, and " comfort ourselves withal."

Archbishop Laud, *Confer. with Fisher*, § 35. quotes and approves of Bishop Ridley's confession :—" You " (the Catholics) and I agree in this, that in the sacra- " ment is the very true and natural body and blood of " Jesus Christ, even that which was born of the Virgin " Mary, which ascended into heaven," &c.

Bishop Ken, in his *Exposition*, licenced 1685, thus addresses our Saviour : " O God Incarnate, how thou " canst give us thy flesh to eat and thy blood to drink ; " how thy flesh is meat indeed ; how thou who art in " heaven art present on the altar,—I can by no means " explain, but I firmly believe it all, because thou hast " said it ; and I firmly rely on thy love and on thy om- " nipotence to make good thy word, though the manner " of doing it I cannot comprehend." Hundreds of such testimonies might be adduced from Protestant Divines.

OF THE SACRIFICE OF THE MASS.

This solemn act of religion, performed all over the Christian world, John Knox deemed the most monstrous idolatry, and dreaded it so much as to tell his disciples

that, " one mass was more to be feared than if ten thou-
" sand men in arms had landed in any part of the king-
" dom," to suppress his new opinions. I shall simply state, from Bishop Bossuet's *Exposition of the Doctrine of the Christian Church*, what Catholics understand by this religious homage, and then subjoin the sentiments of some Protestant divines concerning the oblation of the holy eucharist.

" In this mystery, we may remark two actions, which,
" though they have a mutual relation to each other, are
" nevertheless distinct. The first is the consecration, by
" which the bread and wine are changed into the body
" and blood of Christ; the second is the communion,
" or receiving the holy eucharist.

" By the consecration, the body and blood are mys-
" tically separated, because Jesus Christ said separately,
" *This is my body—this is my blood*, which words in-
" clude a lively and efficacious representation of the vio-
" lent death which he suffered.

" Thus the Son of God, in virtue of these words, is
" placed upon the holy table, clothed with the signs
" which represent his death. Lo, the effect of the con-
" secration: and this religious action carries alongst
" with it an acknowledgment of God's sovereignty, in-
" asmuch as Jesus Christ present there renews, and, in
" some sort perpetuates, the memory of his obedience
" even unto the death of the cross; so that nothing is
" wanting to constitute a true sacrifice.

" We cannot doubt but this action, as distinct from
" the receiving, must of itself be agreeable to Almighty
" God, and cause him to look down on us with a propi-
" tious eye, whilst it lays before him the voluntary
" death that his beloved Son suffered for sinners, or ra-

" ther lays before him that same Son under the signs " of that death by which the Father was appeased."

All Christians will own that the sole presence of Jesus Christ is a most powerful manner of intercession for mankind, according to the expression of the apostle, that he may *appear* now in the presence of God for us.* Thus we believe that Jesus Christ present on the holy table, under that figure of death, intercedes for us, and represents continually to his Father the death which he suffered for his church.

" 'Tis in this sense that we say that Jesus Christ offers " himself to God for us in the holy eucharist. 'Tis in " this manner that we deem that this oblation renders " God propitious to us, and therefore we call it propi- " tiatory."

" While we consider what Jesus Christ operates in " this mystery, and while we contemplate him by faith " actually present upon the holy table with the emblems " of death, we unite ourselves with him in that state. " We present him to God as our only victim and sole pro- " pitiator by his blood, avowing that we have nothing to " offer to God but Jesus Christ and the infinite merit " of his death. We consecrate all our prayers by this " divine offering; and, in presenting Jesus Christ to his " eternal Father, we learn, at the same time, to offer our- " selves, in and through him, to the Divine Majesty as " living victims."

" Such is the Christian sacrifice, infinitely different " from what was performed under the Mosaic law. It is " a spiritual sacrifice, and worthy of the new alliance, " as the present victim is only perceived by faith; the " sword is the *word* which mystically separates the body " and blood; the blood is only mystically shed, and " death is only representative. Yet it is a true sacrifice,

* Heb. ix. 24.

" inasmuch as Jesus Christ is there truly contained and
" presented to his Father under the figure of death. But
" this commemorative sacrifice, so far from detaching us,
" as is pretended, from the sacrifice of the cross, makes
" us more closely adhere to it by every circumstance,
" since it not only has a relation to it, but actually sub-
" sists solely by that relation, and draws all its virtue
" therefrom."

This is the express doctrine of the Catholic Church in the council of Trent, which teaches that *this eucharistic sacrifice is only instituted to represent the sacrifice which was accomplished on the cross ; to perpetuate its memory to the end of time, and to apply to us its salutary virtue for the remission of our daily sins.* So that far from thinking any thing awanting in the sacrifice of the cross, the Church, on the contrary, believes it so perfect and fully sufficient, that all that is done subsequently is only established to celebrate the memory thereof and to apply its virtue.

Let us now hear Protestant divines on this subject. Mr Thorndike, *Epil.* Lib. iii. ch. 5. after having maintained that the elements are really changed from ordinary bread and wine into the body and blood of Jesus Christ, mystically present as in a sacrament, and that in virtue of the consecration, not by the faith of him that receives, he adds, " I am to admit and maintain whatso-
" ever appears duly consequent to this truth, namely,
" that the elements so consecrated are truly the sacri-
" fice of Christ upon the cross ; inasmuch as the body
" and blood of Christ are contained in them. . . . .
" And the sacrifice of the cross being necessarily both
" propitiatory and impetratory, it cannot be denied that
" the sacrament of the eucharist, inasmuch as it is the
" same sacrifice, is also both propitiary and impetratory."

Bishop Forbes, *De Euch.* L. iii. c. 1. § 10. says, " Di-
" cunt etiam saepissimé Sancte Patres, in eucharistia
" offerri et sacrificari ipsum Christi corpus, ut ex innu-
" meris pene locis constat." The holy fathers very fre-
" quently say, that in the eucharist is offered and sacri-
" ficed the very body of Christ, as is evident in number-
" less places." The same Prelate, L. iii. ch. 2. § 12. con-
tinues: " This sacrifice of the supper is not only propi-
" tiatory, and may be offered up for the remission of sins,
" but likewise is impetratory, and may be rightly offered
" for the obtaining all blessings. . . . . Although
" the Scripture does not plainly and in express words
" teach this, yet the holy fathers, with unanimous con-
" sent, have thus understood the Scriptures. . . . .
" All the ancient liturgies prescribed, that, in the time
" of the oblation, prayers be offered for peace, for the
" fruits of the earth, and for other temporal benefits, as
" it is evident to all."

Finally, Grotius, upon *Christian Sacrifices*—" The
" Church, says he, commemorating the sacrifice of Christ
" with the usual rite and words, in this also sacrificeth
" and offers that which is her own given unto Christ:
" that she sets before the eyes of God, and by that be-
" seecheth God. It is the same sacrifice that Christ
" offered," &c.

OF THE ADORATION OF CHRIST IN THE EUCHARIST.

Bishop Forbes, L. ii. c. 2. § 9. " An Christus in Eu-
" charistia sit adorandus, Protestantes, et saniores non
" dubitant. In sumptione enim Eucharistiae adorandus
" est Christus vera Latria." The sounder Protestants

make no doubt of adoring Christ in the eucharist: for, in receiving the eucharist, Christ is to be adored with true worship. And, again, it is a monstrous error of the rigid Protestants, who deny that Christ is to be adored in the eucharist, except only with an inward adoration, but not with any outward act of adoration, as kneeling, or other like posture of the body. All these do not believe aright of the presence of Christ in the sacraments.

Mr Thorndike, *Epil.* L. iii. c. 30—"I suppose, says "he, the body and blood of Christ may be adored where- "soever they are. . . . . And is not the presence "thereof in the sacrament of the eucharist a just occa- "sion presently to express, by that bodily act of adora- "tion, that inward honour which we always carry towards "our Lord Christ as God? . . . . . I do believe "that it was so practised in the ancient church, and in "the symbols, before receiving, which I maintain to have "been from the beginning the true Church of Christ."

As to the word *Transubstantiation*, the Council of Trent says only that it conveniently and properly (*convenienter et proprie*) expresses the conversion or change which was always believed: and I have already shewn, in my review of the ninth century, that the Greek fathers had frequently used words of the same sense and meaning.

Communion, in one kind or in both, Catholics consider merely as a point of discipline. They shew that, even in the primitive ages, it was often given in one kind only. That the faithful often, in times of persecution, were allowed to take the holy eucharist to their houses, or to retain it in their dungeons, that they might strengthen themselves with this divine food before their conflict; and, on these occasions, they only received under the species of bread. The sick were communicated in like

manner. It was carried to solitaries in the deserts. Children often received the eucharist immediately after their baptism, under the species of wine only.

These words of Christ, "Drink ye all of this," Catholics say, regarded only the apostles and their successors as ministers of the sacrifice—they fulfilled the command, and all drank of it. If all the words addressed to the apostles at the institution, had also been addressed to the laity, it would follow that every Christian man and woman received power also to consecrate, which no person of common sense will allow.

Bishop Forbes owns the primitive practice of sometimes giving the communion in one kind. Bishops Montague and White say, the authority for giving the communion in both kinds is rather from tradition than Scripture. An offer has sometimes been tendered to Protestant nations to allow of communion in both kinds, to facilitate their reunion with the Catholic church.

INVOCATION OF SAINTS.

We are told much about worshipping saints; making gods of departed men; of believing the Virgin Mary to be much more powerful in heaven than Christ; of robbing God of his glory; of neglecting the only infinite mediator, Jesus Christ, and having recourse to saints, considering these as mediators and redeemers, and expecting no blessing but by their merits, and through their hands, &c.

Catholics believe that it is damnable idolatry to make gods of men, either living or dead. They believe that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is the only Redeemer and the only Mediator of redemption; but they believe it lawful to beg the prayers of the saints, in the same spirit

of charity, and according to that order of fraternal society which incline us to ask one another's prayers here upon earth. Moses prayed for the Israelites, Stephen for his persecutors. Job's three friends were sent by God himself to his servant Job, that he might pray for them; and the Lord accepted the face of Job when he prayed for his friends. St Paul begged his converts to intercede for him. A sick man desires the congregation to be his interceding mediators; that is, that they would pray to God for him. The Catechism of the Council of Trent concludes, from such examples, that the quality of Mediator, which the Scripture gives to Jesus Christ, cannot be more prejudiced by the intercession of the saints reigning with God than by that of the faithful with whom we live.

The same Catechism shews the extreme difference between the manner that Catholics address the Almighty and that by which they invoke the saints. "*We pray* "*God,*" (it says,) *to bestow blessings upon us, or to deli-* "*ver us from evil. We request the saints, who are more* "*agreeable to God than we, to espouse our cause, and to* "*beg God to grant us what we stand in need of.*" So far, then, are Catholics from praying to the saints as they pray to God, that it would be blasphemy to say to God, *O Lord, pray for us.*

Neither does the Catholic church oblige the faithful to invocate the saints. She contents herself with saying, *that it is lawful and useful to have recourse to their aid, to obtain God's benefits through His Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, our only Saviour and Redeemer.—Council of Trent*, Sess. 25.

Catholics, therefore, say, that it cannot reasonably be imputed to them that they withdraw the faithful from

Jesus Christ when, say they, *we only ask his members, which are our fellow members; his children, who are our brethren; his saints, who are our first fruits, to pray with us and for us to our common Master, in the name of our common Mediator.*

The Catholic church has not decided in what manner the saints learn our requests or necessities. She contents herself in teaching, with all antiquity, that such prayers, rightly understood and humbly preferred, are beneficial to the petitioners. Whether the saints obtain the knowledge of them by the ministry and commerce of angels, *who are ministering spirits sent to minister for them who shall receive the inheritance of salvation.*—*Heb.* i. 14.; or whether God pleases to make known to them our desires by a special revelation; or whether, finally, he discovers these desires to his saints in his own adorable essence, in which every truth is contained. But whatever the medium may be, the Catholic church attributes to no creature any of the divine perfections, nor acknowledges, in the greatest saints, any degree of excellence but what proceeds from God, any estimation in his eyes but on account of their virtue, or any virtue but what is a gift of his grace, or any knowledge of human things but what he is pleased to communicate to them, or any power of assisting us but by their prayers.

Now, what is there so very revolting in desiring a saint in heaven to do what I can lawfully and laudably ask of any fellow Christian? Indeed, all the prayers in the Roman Missal, upon the festivals of the saints, are directly addressed to God himself, imploring him that we may imitate what we honour, and what God himself honours in the saints, namely, their virtues, and that they may intercede for us in heaven, whose memory we celebrate

here on earth,—concluding as usual, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

The above-mentioned Bishop Montague owns that the saints in Heaven pray for the faithful on earth. "I do "not deny, says he, but the saints are mediators, as they "are called, of prayer and intercession, but in general, "and for all in general. They interpose with God by "their supplications, and mediate by their prayers." *Antid.* p. 20.

He owns that the blessed in Heaven do recommend to God their kindred, friends, and acquaintances on earth. "This is the common voice with general concur- "rence, without contradiction of reverend and learned "antiquity, for aught I ever could read or understand; "and I see no cause or reason to dissent from them, "touching intercession in this kind." *Treat. Invoc. of Saints*, p. 103.

"Indeed I grant (says he) Christ is not wronged in "this mediation. It is no impiety to say (with those of "the Romish church) Holy Mary pray for me. Holy "Peter pray for me. - - - - Could I come at them, or "certainly inform them of my state, without any ques- "tion, or more ado, I would readily and willingly say "Holy Peter, blessed Paul, pray for me; recommend my "case unto Jesus Christ our Lord. Were they with "me, by me, in my kenning, I would run with open "arms, fall upon my knees, and with affection desire "them to pray for me." *Ibid.* p. 118. And p. 97. "I "see no absurdity in nature, no incongruity unto ana- "logy of faith, no repugnance at all to sacred Scripture, "much less impiety, for any man to say, Holy Angel "guardian pray for me."

RELICS.

THE word Relics is derived from the Latin *reliquiæ*, and signifies any remains of a holy person after death, such as bones, ashes, clothes, &c. respectfully kept to honour the memory of the person deceased.

The Council of Trent has declared, Sess. 25. "that "the bodies of the martyrs, and other saints, who were "the living members of Jesus Christ and the temples of "the Holy Ghost, ought to be honoured and respected "by the faithful." And the Council founds its sentiment upon passages of the Holy Scripture, the sentiments of ancient fathers, the decrees of past councils, and the practice of the primitive ages. The Council, at same time, expressly commands the strictest caution to be observed against all sordid gain or traffic, of wicked, deceitful, or self-interested persons, all impropriety or superstition of ignorant people.

The passages of Scripture alluded to are, 1 Kings, ii. 14. concerning the mantle of Elijah—4 Kings, xiii. 21. the miracle wrought by touching the bones of Elishah—Acts xix. 12. the handkerchiefs which had touched the body of St Paul—Acts v. 15. even the shadow of St Peter. The acts of the martyrdom of St Ignatius, bishop of Antioch, who was devoured by wild beasts at Rome, an. 107, say, "There remained only the large bones, which were ta-"ken up and carried to Antioch, and there laid in a "chest as an inestimable treasure. -- We marked the "time and the day, that we might yearly assemble at "his tomb, and attest our communion with this gener-"ous champion and martyr of Jesus Christ." St Chrysostom exhorts all people to visit those remains, assuring them they should receive thereby many advantages, spiritual and corporal, an. 169. The like is recorded in

the acts of martyrdom of St Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and disciple of St John, apostle. "We took up the "bones, more precious than the richest jewels or gold, "and deposited them decently in a place, at which may "God grant us to assemble with joy to celebrate the an- "niversary of his martyrdom, to preserve the memory "of heroic martyrs, and stimulate our zeal and courage." Such were the sentiments of antiquity. And we cannot think our modern antiquarians could greatly blame Elisha, or his friends after him, for preserving and respecting the mantle which had opened a passage through the Jordan—or those who might carefully keep the handkerchiefs and aprons, whose touch had cured diseases, and driven away devils.

With regard to pictures and images, I have already shewn the doctrine and practice of the Church in my short review of the seventh age. The calumnious accusation, that Catholics take away one of the commandments, lest their worship of images might be discovered, is so barefaced that it merits no refutation. Whoever will take the trouble to examine their Catechisms, will find all the commandments, and a question—Is it lawful to pray to images?—Answer, *No, by no means - - - - for we know that they can neither see, nor hear, nor help us.*

PURGATORY.

By the word Purgatory, so ridiculous to Protestant ears, Catholics understand the *state* of souls departed without the guilt of mortal sin; but which, not having sufficiently satisfied the justice of God for their faults, cannot be admitted to eternal bliss until expiation of these faults be made; because the smallest remaining

blemish excludes a soul from heaven. "*There shall no-*
"*wise enter into it any thing defiled.*"

This tenet necessarily supposes the three following admissions: 1. That after having obtained from God, in the sacrament of penance, the remission of the eternal guilt and punishment of sin, the sinner has yet to undergo a temporary chastisement: *Exempli gratia*, the punishment of the transgression of our first parents upon them and all their posterity; of Moses for striking the rock twice, Exod. xx. 12. Deut. xxxii. 52.; of David after his sin was forgiven, 2 Sam. xii. 13, 14.

2. That if the sinner has neglected to satisfy divine justice in this world, he must undergo punishment in the world to come.

3. That the prayers and good works of the living faithful may be useful to the departed by lessening or shortening their pains.

In defence of this doctrine, Catholics plead, 1. the belief of the Jews, which clearly appears from 2 Machabees xii. 43, 44, 45, 46. For, waiving the question whether that book be canonical, it is admitted by all to be an authentic history, and shews the belief and practice of the Jews; and that they held it to be *a wholesome thought to pray for the dead, that they may be loosed from their sins.* Neither our blessed Saviour nor his apostles blamed them for this as false doctrine and a superstitious practice, which they surely would have done if it had been faulty.

2. The words of Jesus Christ, Matt. xii. 32. where he declares that blasphemy against the Holy Spirit will not be forgiven *neither in this world nor in the world to come.* If no sin were remitted in the world to come, the second part of the sentence would be without any mean-

ing. And would it not be blasphemy to accuse our Saviour of idle words?

3. The universal practice of the Church, in the earliest ages, in praying for the dead.—I have, elsewhere, shewn this from the testimony of Tertullian and of St Ambrose. I might cite St Justin, St Clement of Alexandria, Origen, St Cyprian, &c. &c.; and, finally, the decision of ancient councils against those who attacked this doctrine.

John Johnson, M. A. a Protestant, author of a book printed London 1714, entitled, *The Unbloody Sacrifice and Altar Unveiled and Supported*, says, "There is "one proof of the propitiatory nature of the eucharist, "according to the sentiments of the ancient church, "which will be thought but too great, and that is, the "devotion used in the liturgies, and so often spoken of "by the fathers, in behalf of deceased souls. There is, "I suppose, no liturgy without them, and the fathers "frequently speak of them. St Chrysostom mentions "it as an institution of the apostles. St Austin asserts "that such prayers are beneficial to those who have led "lives so moderately good as to deserve them. Cyril of "Jerusalem mentions a prayer for those who are gone "to sleep before us. Tertullian speaks of this practice "as prevailing in his time; and the *Constitutions* do re-"quire priests and people to use those sorts of devotion "for the souls of those who die in the faith." He adds, "They judged it, therefore, lawful, and if it were lawful "no more need be said. Nature will do the rest."

The Protestant Bishop Forbes (in his Discourse of Purgatory.) says, "Let not the ancient practice of pray-"ing and making oblations for the dead received "throughout the universal church, almost from the "time of the apostles, be any more rejected by Prptes-

" tants as unlawful or vain. . . . . The Universal
" Church has believed this practice not only to be law-
" ful, but likewise beneficial to the souls departed. . . .
" Many of the primitive fathers were of opinion, that
" some light offences not remitted in this life as to their
" guilt and punishment, were forgiven after death, by the
" intercession of the Church in her public prayers, and
" especially those which were offered up in the celebra-
" tion of the tremendous mysteries, as likewise by the
" prayers, oblations, or alms given for them by private
" persons," &c.

LITURGY IN AN UNKNOWN TONGUE.

A common objection to the Catholic Liturgy is, that it is said in Latin, and not in the vernacular language. It is not the Church which has introduced a foreign tongue. It is the people who have changed and forgotten their ancient language. In the Primitive Church, the Syro-Chaldaic was used in Palestine and its vicinity,—the Greek in the Oriental countries. The Eastern church, at this day, in all its latitude, even amongst peoples of divers nations, which all speak peculiar languages, celebrates the Liturgy in ancient pure Greek; but all those nations have translations of it in their vulgar tongue. In the apostles' time, the Latin, we may say, was the common language of Europe as well as of Africa, and is still most commonly known by educated persons in every country of Europe. The Church has continued her Liturgy in the ancient languages, lest, by being used in all the ever-changing dialects, it might be corrupted and altered. The Catholic, with his prayer-book, containing the translation, as also prayers that are suitable to himself, during the performance of the Litur-

gy, is at no loss. He has this advantage, that, in every country, and in every congregation in common with the see of Rome, he can assist in the service the same as at home, which cannot be done by sectaries, who have no common language or common tie. The Catholic clergy, instructing their people, by sermons or catechisms, speak the plain common languge, and adapt themselves to the capacities of their audiences. The bibles of the Lutherans, Calvinists, Socinians, and English Protestants, are far from being the same; and those who have Liturgies are still more dissimilar in their forms and matter.

EFFICACY AND NUMBER OF THE SACRAMENTS.

The Latins have translated the Greek word Μυστηριον, (which signifies a hidden or secret thing,) by the word *Sacramentum*, and they understand by it a sensible sign of an interior and spiritual effect which God works in the souls of those that are properly disposed. Theologians define it, *A sensible sign of a spiritual grace, instituted by Jesus Christ for the sanctification of our souls.*

Socinians teach, that Sacraments are only simple ceremonies, which only serve at best to unite the faithful, and to distinguish them from Jews and Pagans. Protestants maintain that they are ceremonies, instituted by Jesus Christ, to seal and confirm the promises of grace, to support our faith, and to excite us to piety. Catholics sustain that the Sacraments produce, in well-disposed souls, sanctifying grace, and remission of sins.

Baptism. "The flesh (says Tertullian,) is washed in baptism, "that the soul may be purified. It receives an unction, "that the soul may be consecrated to God. The seal

" of the Cross is impressed on the flesh, that the soul
" may have a defence against its enemies. Hands are
" imposed on the body, that the soul may receive the
" lights of the Holy Spirit. The body partakes the
" body and blood of Jesus Christ, that the soul may be
" divinely nourished." It is thus that even the things which fall not under our senses are expressed by sensible signs.

Confirmation.

Eucharist.

Protestants admit only two sacraments of the new law, viz. Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Catholics acknowledge seven: 1. *Baptism*, which they believe absolutely necessary for salvation,—St John iii. 5.—St Mark xvi. 16.—Acts ii. 38.—I. Peter, iii. 21. 2. *Confirmation*, which the apostles and disciples received on the day of Pentecost,—Acts ii. 4.,—and which they administered again to the faithful,—Acts viii. 17. 3. *Penance*. 4. The *Holy Eucharist*, which I have already explained. 5. *Extreme Unction*, which is clearly proved and explained,—St James v. 14, 15. Luther rejects this sacrament, together with the whole Epistle of St James. Calvin,* on the contrary, says, " I confess that
" Extreme Unction was reckoned a *sacrament* by the
" disciples of Christ, and I do not agree with such as
" look on it as a bodily remedy only." 6. *Holy Orders*, which the apostles received from Christ,—St John xx. 23.—Math. xxviii. 19, 20.—and which they imparted to their successors,—Acts xiii. 2.—I. Tim. iv. 14.—ibid. v. 22.—2 Tim. i. 6.—Titus i. 5. Calvin owns Holy Orders to be a sacrament. " I allow it (says he) to be a
" sacrament, but I reckon it not amongst the common
" ones." *No Papist living* (says Dr Montague,) *will say or desire more.* 7. *Matrimony*, That union which the Almighty, at the creation, had established and sanc-

* Commentary on the Epistle of St James.

tified between one man and one woman, had, from the bent of corruption, and hardness of mens' hearts, very much declined from its original sanctity. Our Saviour restored it to its primitive state,—Mat. xix. 6.; and St Paul, repeating our Saviour's words says, "*This is a* "*great sacrament*, but I speak in Christ and in the "Church."—Eph. v. 32. "Matrimony is also called a "sacrament, (says Luther,) being the type of a very "noble thing. The dignity of this *sacrament* should "be respected."—*Luth. de Matrimoniis.*

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BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek
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